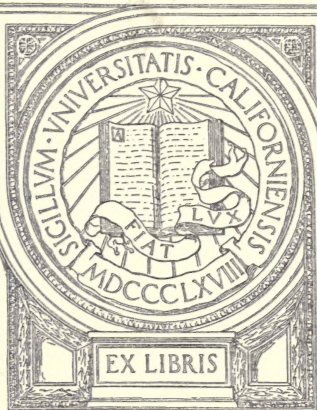


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A REVIEW

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AT PARIS,

DURING THE LAST SUMMER.

By M. FENNELL.

LONDON:

REVIEW
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AT PARIS

DURING THE LAST SUMMER

INCLUDING

AN EXACT AND PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE
MEMORABLE SESSION

THE 20th OF JUNE || THE 10th OF AUGUST, AND
THE 14th OF JULY, OF THE 2nd OF SEPTEMBER.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS
ON THE

CHARACTERS, PRINCIPLES AND CONDUCT

DURING THE LAST SUMMER.

THE MOST CONSPICUOUS PERSONS

CONCERNED IN PROMOTING

THE SUSPENSION AND DETRONEMENT OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

By Mr. FENNELL.

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COMMISSIONERS OF THE
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DEDICATION.

TO

VISCOUNT BELGRAVE.

MY LORD,

THEY only who do not merit
praise, are pleased with flattery: the truly deserving shrink
alike from both. Honoured by a
per-

permission, which a respectful principle induced me to solicit, I dedicate the following sheets to your Lordship.

I have the Honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's much obliged,

And obedient humble Servant,

JAMES FENNEL.

P R E F A C E.

THE reader, it is hoped, will indulgently allow for the length of time that has elapsed since the commencement of the following narrative : the greater part of it was written, printed, and the whole was intended for publication in the month of September last. Unforeseen events for some time induced the author to relinquish his design : but, several advertisements in the public papers having seemed to promise a defence of the late massacres in Paris, the author was induced to resume his undertaking, to guard the public from misrepresentations, intended, doubtless, to answer the worst of purposes. One of the consequences of the delay of
the

the publication, for which the author thinks it necessary to apologize, is, that in the former part of the work, circumstances are mentioned as presently existing, which ought to have been now related as past.— For being excused for such inconsistencies, and other imperfections, the author relies on the candour of the considerate reader, hoping that a strict adherence to truth, in the narrative of most important events, will more than atone for his greatest errors.

London, November 14th, 1792.

A REVIEW

A

REVIEW

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS AT PARIS, &c.

WHEN a great empire is convulsed, few countries entirely escape the shock: the revolutions in France have interested the world, have engaged the greater part of Europe in hostile preparations, and at this moment are become the immediate and necessary concern of every inhabitant of Great Britain.

The events that have taken place during the last summer have been heard, or read of, with the greatest avidity; but so distorted by party principles on the one hand,
and

and defeatured by violent exaggerations on the other, that few of them have appeared in their real shape. To hold the mirror up to France, that she may see her own image divested of those dazzling appearances, by which she has endeavoured to deceive the world, and has actually deceived herself; and to present my own countrymen with an unbiaſſed narrative of the ſituation of that country, are the objects of my preſent undertaking. The advantages which a reſidence on the ſpot, and a minute inveſtigation of even the moſt trivial occurrences, joined to my having been an eye witneſs of almoſt every commotion that has lately taken place, from its origin to its iſſue, are circumſtances which embolden me to give my opinion, with a degree of freedom, unauthorized in thoſe who ſit at home, and through the medium of infatuation and prejudice, contemplate horrors, maſſacres, and plunder, and pronounce them liberty and juſtice.

The

The French having liberated themselves from the oppressions of a despotic government, under which they had long laboured, and a King being no longer their adored object; unconscious of what they were pursuing, they looked around for some idol to which they might devote themselves: they had heard of a free-born Englishman; they had seen America obtain her independence; they themselves had been slaves: the first idea that presented itself was liberty; they staid not to examine its extent or meaning; they grasped the shadow, and the darling sound became their idol. The word was re-echoed throughout the land; but, how little they understood or thought of the substance of it, their subsequent conduct will exemplify. / When foreign powers, in defence of characters and properties that had been violated, took up arms against them, the French proclaimed they fought for liberty; and while robbing and plundering every one whom birth or merit had raised to a degree of superiority over them, they had the audacity to observe, that they were

B 2

defending

defending the rights of man. But, however, as it is not my intention to support the opinions I shall venture in this undertaking, upon vague hypotheses or assertions, I shall endeavour in the first place to examine what true liberty is, wherein it consists, and what are the true rights of man; and in the next place, by an exact account of the events to which I have been an eye witness, determine, whether or not, the French know what liberty is, whether or not they possess it, and whether or not they pay any regard to the true and unequivocal rights of man.

The idea that the French seem to entertain at this moment of liberty, is, that it allows them an unrestrained freedom to do every thing they are inclined to do, provided that they have force enough to maintain their inclinations; and to this force, consisting of a certain number of armed men, by giving to it the title of "The Nation," they ascribe the power of making, or annulling laws at their discretion.

Now,

Now, in any nation, or society, already possessed of laws, liberty cannot consist in an unrestrained freedom; because, the laws having already prescribed limits to the conduct of the people, it remains only, legally, in their power to *do* what they ought to *wish*, and to *refuse* doing what they ought *not* to *wish*.

Every citizen should be submissive to the laws; liberty therefore can consist alone in the power of doing every thing those laws permit; and in the power of refusing to do every thing those laws do not demand.

For a nation to be free, it is requisite that every individual should equally enjoy the benefit and protection of the laws. If, therefore, any citizen, or any number of citizens, can rise up, and attack their fellow citizens with impunity, it is evident that the nation to which those citizens belong is not free.

If any citizen, or number of citizens, be allowed to do with impunity what the laws forbid ; it is equally evident that *he* or *they* can no longer be possessed of liberty, because *his* or *their* fellow citizens must have the same power.

It is necessary, to ensure the liberty of the people, that the legislative and executive power should be free ; that they may have the means of enacting, and enforcing laws, for the general liberty of the nation.

If the legislative and executive power be *not* free, the nation cannot be so : for, if the legislative and executive power be not at liberty to prevent or redress injuries, a citizen may be insulted, or attacked with impunity ; and where such enormities exist, no country *can* be free. A man is as much a slave, who exists in a country where he is liable to be insulted by his fellow citizens, without redress, as if he lived under the arbitrary dominion of a despotic government.

If

If the legislative or executive power be surrounded by a tumultuous body of armed men, insisting on the passing or sanctioning of such and such decrees, such power so surrounded cannot be free.

If the government of a country have it not in its power to suppress unlawful and tumultuous meetings, that government is ineffective and not free.

It is therefore evident, that in a country where the government is not free, and where the people are not free, that liberty cannot exist: and that, to ensure the existence of liberty, every citizen should indiscriminately be submitted to the laws; for, till the laws be supreme, and the executive power have the ability to enforce them, no citizen can be safe, and of course cannot be said to possess liberty.

Before I quit this analysis of liberty, which I have confined chiefly to such observations, as are most adapted to the present

situation of the country on which I am writing; I shall take the liberty of enforcing my arguments, by a few quotations from the writings of two gentlemen, who have made the government of nations a principal part of their ingenious studies; and to whose knowledge and experience, much greater credit will be given, than to those, who, by their heterodox doctrines have endeavoured to rouse the people of this island to the pursuit of a shadow, while they possess the substance, and who would willingly sacrifice their own country to the same calamities which distract France, that they might emulate the characters of a SANTERRE, a PETION, or a CONDORGET.

MONTESQUIEU observes, that “ The
 “ Political Liberty of the subject is a tran-
 “ quility of mind, arising from the opi-
 “ nion each person has of his own safety.
 “ In order to have this liberty, it is requi-
 “ site that the government be so consti-
 “ tuted that one subject need not fear an-
 “ other.”

The

The circumstances which I shall relate in this work, will prove how far such a constituted government exists in France.

Mr. LOCKE says, “ The liberty of man
“ in society, is to be under no other legisla-
“ tive power, but that established by con-
“ sent in the commonwealth; nor under
“ the dominion of any will, or restraint of
“ any law, but what the legislative power
“ shall enact, according to the trust put
“ in it.

“ Freedom of men, under government,
“ is to have a standing rule to live by,
“ common to every rule of that society,
“ and made by the legislative power erected
“ in it. A Liberty to follow my own will
“ in all things, where the rule prescribes
“ not, not to be subject to the inconstant
“ uncertain, unknown, arbitrary will of
“ another man; as freedom of nature is to
“ be under no other restraint, but the law
“ of nature.”

I shall

I shall take an opportunity of comparing the freedom which Mr. Locke describes, with that of which the French are so fond at this moment ; and do not despair of proving, that while they are boasting to all the world that they are in possession of perfect liberty, they are the abject slaves of the most unjustifiable and despotic tyranny.

Much has been written and observed on the subject of the rights of man, and many arguments have been adduced, to prove that a theory more absurd than Plato's republic, might be reduced to practice. When a writer, animated by a desire of benefiting a nation, offers to its inhabitants his opinions on forms of government, it is not sufficient for him to prove that such and such systems are good, and reconcileable to the laws of nature ; or, that such and such nations have flourished under such and such governments ; the manners, customs, and dispositions of men, in different countries, are so various, and so influenced by climate and national character, that the same system

tem which might be found appropriate to the temper of the one, might, and most probably would, be inductive of the ruin of the other. When, therefore, a writer attempts to subvert a constitution under which any nation has flourished and become great, merely because another nation, under a different constitution, is flourishing and becoming great, he must undoubtedly be influenced by ignorance, or a worse cause; he cannot have investigated the temper of that nation, and the consequences of change in a system which has been so long approved; or, he must be actuated by principles which I should be sorry to ascribe to any man. The British constitution has stood the test; it has been approved by its own subjects, and admired by every foreign power: no government can be perfect, but if perfection in government consists in the happiness of the people submitted to it, the British constitution approaches nearer to perfection than any other form whatever: and I will venture to affirm, that if it has not been adopted by any foreign power, it has been because

because the wisdom of constituent powers have foreseen that the temper of the people would not have safely permitted the introduction of true liberty among them. Nations, like individuals, are subject to temporary madneſſes; the madneſs of the preſent moment is the chaſe of liberty; but the happineſs, or proſperity of every nation, will not be found to conſiſt in the obtaining of it; and is not the happineſs and proſperity of a nation, which are intrinsic worths, more to be deſired than a phantom, which will be continually eluding their embrace? Liberty is not a plant adapted to every ſoil; among one people only has it yet flouriſhed, and I may venture to affirm that by that people it will ever be excluſively enjoyed. The French never have been, and never will be free. Their tempers are too volatile, too changeable, too much ſubject to the momentary influence of ſentiment, to ſubſcribe continually to the ſober limits which liberty has preſcribed for herſelf, and without which ſhe cannot exiſt. France, to be a great and
happy

happy nation must be governed, and that government must be despotic. Mr. Paine observes, that they who talk of a counter-revolution in France know nothing of the matter ; that a counter-revolution is impossible ; and concludes his arguments by a pompous display of words, that dazzle the superficial reader, but bear no conclusive testimony of the truth of what he has asserted.

He observes that a counter-revolution is impossible, because, no power has yet been discovered that could make a man unknow his knowledge or unthink his thoughts. Admitting that there is sense in the above observation, that sense must be explicable ; I will therefore endeavour to explain it.

For a man to unknow his knowledge, nothing more is necessary, than that he should grow wiser, and discover that he has been in error ; and for a man to unthink his thoughts, nothing more is necessary,

cessary, than that he should change his opinion; and that that is possible the numerous desertions from the popular cause have sufficiently evinced.

They who were the most strenuous advocates for true liberty at the commencement of the revolution, and imagined that France was then becoming a great nation under its influence, have since unknown their knowledge, and unthought their thoughts; or, in more intelligible terms, have grown wiser, and discovered that the knowledge they fancied they had obtained, was folly, and consequently have changed their opinion. They have found, that the temper and disposition of a Frenchman is not calculated for liberty; that with them it must ever degenerate into licentiousness, which can only end in the subversion of all order.

This barrier, therefore, which the imagery of Mr. Paine's genius has raised against a counter-revolution in France, is
already

already broken, and will, I doubt not, soon be destroyed; for when the French have leisure to grow cool, and calmly deliberate with themselves; their thoughts and opinions will be changed from what they were, when their minds were newly agitated, and when the provocations were fresh and recent. In the beginnings of anger, they thought of nothing but revenge, without weighing its consequences, and how far they might thereby hurt themselves; but time, among other benefits, will make them quit passion, and listen to the voice of reason.

I am so far from thinking with Mr. Paine, that a counter-revolution is impossible, that I could almost venture to assert that it will actually take place; every circumstance in the affairs of France at this moment promises it, and makes it the common cause of humanity to wish it. But there are two means by which a counter-revolution may be effected; and the failure of the one mean, would probably ensure the other

other. If it were possible for the French to withstand, or repulse, the powerful armies which are combined against them, they would not be less liable to a counter-revolution, from the influence of the most prevailing party at home. The specious banner of liberty is a broad veil, under which may be for a long time concealed, ambition, and the hopes of governing, which power may reveal: for as D'Avenant observes, “ where
 “ factions have been, and are suffered to
 “ be, of long continuance in a kingdom,
 “ if absolute dominion is not brought in,
 “ 'tis for want of an enterprising temper in
 “ the Prince,” or any other leading and popular man, “ or it is owing to his virtue
 “ wisdom, and moderation; for the tools
 “ are ready, and the fire being hot, has
 “ made the metal soft and malleable, so
 “ that he may work it into what shape he
 “ pleases.”

Though there may be no *Prince* in France, yet are there not wanting men of enterprising dispositions, who wait only
 for

for a convenient opportunity of throwing aside the mask, under which they have acquired their popularity, and assuming their real characters: then will the ocean of discontent, agitated by frequent storms, swell up, overflow the banks, and come at last to divide into two mighty streams. To prevent the horrors of a civil war, which such a division must inevitably produce, it is earnestly to be hoped that the combined armies may prove victorious; for, I repeat it, France never will, or can be free; and 'till the ancient monarchy be restored, it never will be a great nation.

And what is this phantom they are pursuing? It is the *name* of liberty; of the *substance* of it they are ignorant; they imagine that they possess it, while under the dominion of the most arbitrary government. But the events which have taken place during the last summer, and which I am now proceeding to lay before the public, will give stronger testimonies to my assertions, than all the arguments I could adduce to defend them.

Some of the facts, perhaps, which I may think it necessary to enumerate, may at first appearance, strike the reader as too trite to merit notice, and too trifling for rebuke; were they not in their tendency as fatal to the stability of a nation, as maxims, manners, and actions more apparently flagitious: but in general, I fear, I shall find myself under the same circumstances as the great historian, who in the profligate state of declining Rome, affirms that he had nothing to relate, but “*Sæva jussa,*” “*continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias,*” “*perniciem innocentium.*”

But, before I proceed to my narrative of facts, it may not be improper to dedicate a few pages to the consideration of the different dispositions of the people, in the several departments, with respect to the present government; or rather with respect to that government which was apparently in existence a few months ago. For even admitting that the citizens of Paris, wherein is the seat of government, were unanimous in their approbation of any
 established

established system, which, however, they are very far from being; such unanimity would by no means authorise the legislative power to assert that they were acting upon the united suffrages of the nation; for Paris contains not a thirtieth part of the inhabitants of France: admitting also that addresses may be sent from every department, approving of the legislative body and its decrees, such addresses would be equally ineffective in speaking the nation's voice: for, in every department is formed a faction, raised by, and affiliated with, the Jacobin faction at Paris; and to these factions are immediately transmitted whatever resolutions or decrees are passed by the great party at home: these factions, composed chiefly of the inferior class of people, under the dominion, as Lafayette very justly has observed, of a few ambitious chiefs, have the power, by the influence of their affiliations, of appointing the municipal officers in the departments, who are subject, through fear, to their control. To the disgrace of the legislative power, they have

sacrificed their independence to the influence of the Jacobins; who, by preaching up the rights of man, (which according to the definition their actions give them, seem to indicate the universal rights of plunder,) liberty and equality, (which also seem to mean licentiousness and insubordination,) have gained the admiration of the thoughtless rabble, who applaud with rapture every sentiment calculated to inspire them with the love of anarchy, and the contempt of kings. In this society of Jacobins, are many members of the National Assembly, who retire to their evening sittings, to gain fresh fuel for the fire which the cool determined dictates of philosophy would otherwise extinguish. These amphibious members, form the communication between the National Assembly and the Jacobins; and carrying with them into the former, the influence of the latter, become the ruling and popular persons of the Senate; while they, who from principle and reason endeavour to oppose any violation of truth and justice, are denominated Aristocrats, and
are

are hooted by the patriots of the Assembly, and their hired multitudes in the tribunes; and are thereby condemned to silence, or the risk of being marked, and treated as traitors to the nation. By the above means, the Jacobins having secured the sanction of the noisy and tumultuous part of the nation; whatever their votaries procure to be decreed in the National Assembly, they transmit to their affiliations, who, as the united voice of the nation, return their addresses of thanks to the Assembly, as the ostensible, though the Jacobins are generally the real power that produces any important decree. While the disaffected and quiet part of the people are obliged to witness, and sigh over these enormities in silence, anxiously waiting and wishing for an opportunity of declaring openly their sentiments, and exchanging this tumultuous and flagitious tyranny, for a regular, though despotic government. But as I have already said much, and may have occasion to say a great deal more of the Jacobin society, it may not be inappropriate to enter into a more minute description of it.

The society of Jacobins takes its name from a *ci-devant* convent so called, in which it holds its sittings. The lower part of the hall in which they debate, is fitted up for the reception of the members, the number of whom is at present I believe between four and five hundred, but subject to frequent variations, as sense or infatuation predominates; at the end of the hall are raised galleries for the reception of auditors and spectators; the walls are hung with chains, and other emblems of slavery, to remind the people of their former situation: over the chair of the President, are the colours of France, America, and England; the staffs of which are united by a wreath, emblematical of the union of the three free countries; from the ceiling is suspended the standard of liberty, bearing on it this inscription, “ Vivre libre
 “ ou mourir :” there are besides other little frolicks of imagination, too trivial to engage the attention of my readers. It was originally instituted to watch over the constitution, to conserve to each part of it, the power which the nation had respectively
 allotted

allotted ; and to defend the true liberties of the people. Lafayette was one of its founders, whom in the paroxysm of its degeneracy, it was the first to accuse, for having been almost the only man in France, who, at a time when the constitution was in the greatest danger, had spirit enough to declare his principles, and do his duty. Lafayette, who, when the factious at Paris were about to break the oath they had most solemnly sworn, and as solemnly repeated, when they were about to overthrow a constitution, which they had bound themselves by the most sacred obligations to defend ; who, after having himself been slandered, reviled, and denounced, by the Jacobins, and delivered over by their decrees to the execrations and lawless villanies of the rabble, had the courage, unattended, to appear in the midst of his enemies, and at the bar of the National Assembly, accuse that very society as the cause of every disorder ; remind the representatives of the people of their most solemn obligations which they seemed to have forgotten, or given up, and

urge

urge them to exert themselves for the salvation of the country.

The Jacobins, however, seem now entirely to have given up every principle upon which they were originally formed. The only principle they now act upon, is that of reducing every one to the same level ; of destroying all subordination among the multitude, and the armies ; of preaching to all that they have no, and ought never to acknowledge, superiors ; that they have a natural right to exterminate, by any means, all those who are of a contrary opinion ; that religion is a farce, and only introduced by arbitrary tyrants, to persuade the people that they are dependant upon *one* power, that they may be more easily subjugated to dependance on *another*. Thus have they even raised the people against their God ; they have banished the Supreme Being from their minds, and raised up an idol in his stead. The laws of the Creator, though not only compatible with, but actually forming the basis of, true liberty, were

were, according to the idea of the meteor that had blazed from the exhalations of their licentiousness, and which they call liberty, inconsistent with the natural rights of man. By the laws of their God, they were forbid to take his name in vain, to steal, to plunder, or to massacre; they were bound to love, to honour, and obey him; and to do to others as they would that others should do to them; but such laws were too severe for men determined to be *free*; they therefore banished their Creator, threw off alike all human and divine obedience, and gave themselves up to every species of blasphemy, barbarity, and crimes. The temples that had been erected for the worship of the Almighty, are now, the greater part of them, razed, and the materials sold, or converted into receptacles for societies, in which the infringement of every moral and religious duty is meditated with a shocking boldness. Even the image of our Saviour has not, in some places, escaped the dreadful infatuation of the multitude; the cap of liberty, and national cockade

cockade, defile the representation of his sufferings.

Before the Jacobins had accomplished their last diabolical purpose, the walls of their society rung with exclamations against kings and monarchy; every thing that could be said to inflame the people against their sovereign, was uttered without respect to verity, or justice; the King was represented as a traitor to the country, as a man not only unfit to govern, but unfit to live. How far such a character could with any degree of plausibility be ascribed to Louis the Sixteenth, his conduct since his acceptance of the constitution, will testify. They had presented to him for his acceptance a new form of government, and called it the constitution; in that constitution was comprised himself as King, with royal prerogatives: he accepted the new constitution, and swore to defend it; the legislative power, and the people themselves, took the same solemn oath; but they seem to have forgot, that in swearing to defend the constitution

stitution, the King bound himself to protect his own person, his royal prerogatives, and the crown, as part of that constitution, from violation; and that they themselves were equally bound to preserve his privileges from usurpation. It will require no great difficulty to prove that his attempt, as it was his duty, to preserve that power which the nation had given him, and to exercise it for the benefit of his people in general, were the only crimes that have entailed upon himself and family such unheard of persecutions and calamities. And in this moment of his greatest danger, where are to be found a Richmond, a Hertford, a Southampton, and a Lindsey, to stand forward as the advocates of their injured master? To endeavour to ward from him the blow which threatens to fall on him for imputed perfidies; to avow themselves his counsellors, and invite upon their own heads the punishment of their sovereign's pretended crimes? No one is to be found who dares avowedly and openly, at home, espouse his cause: they who fed upon his

his smiles, are all vanished with the sunshine that gave them birth. When fanaticism and horrors were at their height in England, and the unfortunate Charles awaited the blow, which afterwards entailed upon the regicides the detestation of all Europe, still was there some virtue left; and men of worth, integrity, and honour, were found, who not only courageously espoused the cause of justice and humanity, but offered to seal the safety of their sovereign with their blood. But France seems deaf to every principle of honour; and though millions of men have seen their errors, and in their own minds condemn the enormities that have been practised, they are at this moment so overawed by the rabble, and their irregular proceedings, that one only was found who had courage enough to represent to them their late enormities as they deserved to be represented, and him they obliged to seek his safety in the arms of an enemy he would have combated for them in a just cause.

In every department, and in every town, even before the circumstances took place which have so much disgraced what they call their fourth year of liberty, there were two parties, the aristocratic, and the democratic; the democratic party consisted chiefly of the lower order of people, or those who chose to flatter the infatuations of the multitude, to procure power, or amuse ambition: their principle, if a principle it may be called, was to do every thing their power or number permitted them to do; they pretended to be attached to the constitution; but that pretended attachment to the constitution proceeded only from their partiality to the licentiousness, which, under the gloss of liberty, it permitted. For if questioned concerning the advantages the revolution had procured, they knew little more than that they were free, and had no longer any superiors. The aristocratic party was not only composed of those who were attached to the former government, but also of those who wished to preserve the constitution as it was at first established, and regarded the
violation

violation of rights, the infringements on the prerogatives of the King, and the insults offered to his person, as unconstitutional and unjust. The democratic party, however, was the only one that dared avow itself openly, because on their side was the military power, who no longer being subject to such severe discipline as formerly, found their account in the government, by being at liberty to refuse their obedience to orders, the execution of which might be uncomfortable to them. To be suspected of aristocracy, was dangerous ; to avow it was death ; and this in a country which supposes, or pretends to suppose itself free. Let me ask those advocates for France, who, after all her sacrileges and crimes, have not yet deserted her, what species of liberty can exist in a country, where not only the freedom of action ; but the freedom of principle and opinion is not suffered ; where a man is constrained to appear what he is not, to do what he does not wish, and what the laws do not only not demand, but even forbid, to save his
 property

property or life? For under the mask of democracy, the spirit of aristocracy was frequently concealed: the quiet class of people were obliged to *appear* democrats, but no power could repress what the mind revolved within itself. And what man of principle and honour, of reason, or of interest, could behold so beautiful and populous a country as France, governed by a rabble, its external and internal commerce almost annihilated, itself on the eve of bankruptcy, its money bearing sixty or seventy per cent. discount; and be a friend to the government, or rather the anarchy, that was the cause of the calamities? Hume observes, that “ it is seldom that the people gain
 “ any thing by revolutions in government,
 “ because the new settlement, jealous and
 “ insecure, must commonly be supported
 “ with more expence and severity than the
 “ old.” And nothing can justify his observation more strongly than the present state of France. Their expences at this moment are enormous: the plunder and sale of churches, the demolition of statues, and
 the

the confiscation of private property, are not inexhaustible resources, and cannot long furnish them with the means of calling in and burning the paper money: the people must inevitably, if they be not conquered very shortly, groan under a load of taxes unknown before. The *gabelle* may change its name and feature, and may be called a voluntary contribution, but the effects will be the same. The word and the cap of liberty may remain among them, but, I repeat it, conquered or not conquered, France never will be free.

And yet under the present circumstances, and the prospect of a more dreadful future, every honest man, every well-wisher to France, is, in his own country, under the necessity of wearing the hypocritical vizard of democracy. This will be found inductive of more danger to the present constitution, than is at this moment imagined; for it is by this that France deceives the world, and deceives herself. Where every one is obliged to wear the same appearance,
it

it is impossible to discover the various opinions that may be concealed under the same mask; and without knowing the opinions of the people, it is equally impossible to form any estimate of the safety or danger of a government. A time, perhaps, will shortly come when opinions and sentiments will be disclosed without reserve, and France will be surpris'd to see her millions flock to the banners of royalty, whom she had impolitically obliged to rank themselves under the cap of liberty.

But to proceed to the narrative of facts, which I mean to confine chiefly to what happened during the months of June, July, August, and September.

The Jacobins had long been the secret, and had, at last, become the avowed enemies of the King; and finding that, under his reign, they could not practise every species of injustice which they meditated against those whom birth or merit had raised to a superiority over them, they re-

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solved

solved to dethrone him. This, however, could not be done constitutionally ; it was therefore necessary for them to procure the assistance of the rabble : the citizens of Paris, however, had not been so fully convinced of the perfidies and treacheries of Louis the Sixteenth, as it had been endeavoured to make them ; they had been witnesses of the conduct of their King, and the more enlightened part of them had discovered that he had done more for the real interests of the country than had been ascribed to him. They, therefore, were unfit for the diabolical purpose of the Jacobins. Under the pretence of defending Paris, in case of an invasion, they procured from the National Assembly a decree for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men under its walls ; which camp was to be formed of volunteers from the eighty-three departments.

The decree being passed by the Assembly, and the defence of Paris being the only ostensible cause of it, and that appearing

pearing futile and unnecessary, violent exclamations were immediately raised against it; and, during the first part of the month of June, almost the whole time of the National Assembly was taken up in hearing petitions for its repeal. The National Parisian Guard were among the first to exclaim against it; they were ready, they said, and, as they thought, sufficient to defend Paris in case of attack; they observed that the idea of forming a camp under its walls must have originated from a doubt either of their courage, or their honour; they assured the National Assembly that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the constitution, and begged that the protection of the capital might be left to their care. They added, that if an additional army was necessary, that army should be raised and sent to the frontiers to assist in preventing the entrance of the enemy; and not wait inactively 'till the enemy had entered and proceeded as far as Paris.

Such were the remonstrances contained in the numerous petitions sent to the National Assembly, immediately after the passing of the decree ; one of which was presented in the name of eight thousand of the National Guard. No one, but those immediately concerned in planning it, could divine any use or reason for this camp : the universal cry was against it, as a measure impolitic and unnecessary. The decree was presented to the King, who, knowing that such a camp could be of no service to the nation in general, knowing also the hatred which the Jacobins had manifested toward his constitutional authority, and the attacks they had so frequently made upon it ; and wisely foreseeing the fatal consequences to himself, should so large a body of men be suffered to assemble in Paris, under the immediate influence of the Jacobins, refused his sanction to it. In doing this, he exerted no other power than what the constitution had delegated to him, and which power, when he could no longer doubt that what-

ever

ever might be the ostensible reason for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men under the walls of Paris, the real motive could only be to attack by violence that part of the constitution which he was essentially bound to defend,—it was his undoubted duty to enforce.

The cry, however, against the decree was soon changed into a louder cry of approbation; the National Guards, who were now on all occasions denominated the *brave* National Guard of Paris, had been flattered into the conviction that the idea of the camp had not originated from a suspicion of their courage or integrity; every argument and flowery expression that could be invented was adduced to convince the people of the necessity of this camp, of which the Jacobins derived the strongest proof from the King's having refused to sanction it. The French are the slaves to words, they seldom reason, they catch the idea as it first presents itself, and act from the immediate impulse

of the moment ; but a glowing sentiment, a well turned phrase, cloaked with the imagery of liberty, will, right or wrong, convert them in an instant, and make them as violent in favour of any measure, as they had before been outrageous against it : so was it in this instance ; the bar of the National Assembly became now as crowded with petitioners approving of the decree, as it had the day before been with petitioners against it : they who had opposed it were denounced ; and many who had signed the petition of eight thousand, denounced those who induced them to sign it, and sent to the Assembly retracting their signatures.

The Jacobin ministers who had proposed the decree to the Assembly, and had been denounced by the people, and dismissed by the King, were now as warmly applauded as they had been before condemned ; and the National Assembly decreed that they left the ministry with the regret of the nation.

Every

Every thing now seemed to be in good train for the accomplishment of the purpose of the Jacobins. The guard which the constitution had granted to the King of 1200 foot and 600 horse had been removed from the palace, lest, being paid from the funds of the civil list, they might be found too faithful to the hand that fed them, and too much attached to their King, whose virtues and sufferings they constantly beheld, to suffer any insult to be offered to his person while they had the power of preventing it.

The cry being in favour of the decree, every endeavour was used to irritate the people against their King, (who had now no other than the honorary guard furnished him by the citizens), for refusing his sanction to it. The attention of the National Assembly was disgraced by listening to the most virulent execrations against the King ; every man, into whose mouth had been put phrases replete with invectives against royalty, was received with

unbounded applause, and invited to the honours of the sitting.

I shall here subjoin one speech which will serve sufficiently to indicate the tendency of the others delivered at this period, and which, by its audacious perversion of facts, its pompous declarations of patriotism and courage, will prepare the reader for the relations of the horrors which followed in a few days.

The following speech was delivered at the bar of the National Assembly, on Sunday, the 17th of June, by a citizen of the section De la Croix Rouge.

“ Truth may displease the too delicate
 “ ears of the King, but our legislators can-
 “ not fail to make it welcome.

“ During four years, the people have
 “ been environed with plots which seem
 “ to be favoured, seconded, and prepared
 “ by those who surround the executive
 power.

“ power. What mischievous genius con-
 “ ducts the actions of Louis the Sixteenth?
 “ We have forgiven his perjuries, we
 “ have placed him upon the most glorious
 “ throne in the world, and he is forget-
 “ ful of all these benefits.

“ You have passed two useful decrees*,
 “ and he refuses to sanction them ! You
 “ have removed from him a guard auda-
 “ ciously aristocratic, and he thanks them
 “ for their conduct by a public proclama-
 “ tion ! Good ministers composed his
 “ council, and he dismisses them !

“ This inconceivable obstinacy in con-
 “ tinually opposing evil to good, can no
 “ longer be tolerated : we must dart ter-
 “ ror into the souls of conspirators ; we
 “ must undeceive those madmen who
 “ still indulge the foolish hope of a mo-
 “ dification.

“ Let

* The other was against the refractory priests.

“ Let them learn at last our resolu-
 “ tions ; it is over the dead bodies of
 “ every free Frenchman that they must
 “ triumph, and the constitution shall ne-
 “ ver perish but after its last defender.
 “ Awake, legislators ! and give us the
 “ means of executing our resolutions.

“ Grant to the assemblies of the sec-
 “ tions the permanence we have so often
 “ demanded. It is in these assemblies
 “ that your defenders will always be found
 “ ready and armed ; whose imposing at-
 “ titude and countenance alone will tram-
 “ ple your enemies in the dust.”

It is unnecessary to descant on the above
 speech ; they who have been witnesses to
 the conduct of Louis the Sixteenth since
 the acceptance of the constitution, and
 who have not suffered themselves to be
 deceived by misrepresentations, will deter-
 mine the light in which such and similar
 pieces of oratory ought to be regarded.
 But his destruction was decreed ; and
 though

though no laws, human or divine, were to be regarded in the pursuit of it, it was thought necessary by the Jacobins to have some specious pretences for their conduct, to divert the detestation of all Europe, which is, however, at last, most deservedly entailed upon them.

While circumstances were in the situation I have described at Paris, and the dreadful day was fast advancing, La Fayette, who viewed the proceedings of the Jacobins in their proper light, and trembled for the safety of his royal master, unmindful of his personal safety, and attached only to the constitution which he had sworn to defend, and the violation of which he saw was threatened, wrote to the King and the National Assembly the two following letters :

Letter

*Letter of M. LA FAYETTE to the KING,
sent with a Copy of his Letter to the
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.*

At the intrenched Camp of Maubeuge,

16th of June, 1792.

The Fourth Year of Liberty.

SIRE,

I have the honour of sending to your Majesty the copy of a letter which I have written to the National Assembly, in which it will find the expression of those sentiments which have animated my whole life. The King knows with what ardour, with what confidence I have been at all times devoted to the cause of liberty, to the sacred principles of humanity, equality and justice. He knows that I have always been the adversary of factions, the enemy of licentiousness; and that any power that I thought illegal, never was acknowledged by me: he knows my devotion to his constitutional authority, and my attachment to his person. These, Sire, are the principles which compose the
basis

basis of my letter to the National Assembly, and which will ever be the dictators of my conduct toward my country and your Majesty, in the midst of those storms which so many hostile and factious combinations attract at once around us.

It does not behove me, Sire, to give to my opinions or my actions, any greater importance than the insulated conduct of a simple citizen ought to experience; but the expression of my thoughts was always a right, and, on this occasion, becomes a duty: and although I should have fulfilled it sooner, if my voice, instead of making itself heard in the midst of a camp, could have issued from the depth of a retreat from which the dangers of my country have hurried me; I do not think that any public employment, any personal consideration, can excuse me from exercising this duty of a citizen, this right of a free man.

Perfist, Sire, by the force of that authority which the national will has delegated
to

to you, in the generous resolution of defending the principles of the constitution against all its enemies; let that resolution, supported by every action of your private life, as well as by a firm and complete exercise of the royal power, become the pledge of a harmony, which, particularly in every critical moment, cannot fail to establish itself between the elected representatives of the people and their hereditary representative. It is on this resolution, Sire, that the glory and the safety of the nation and yourself depend. By that you will find all the true friends of liberty, all the honest Frenchmen, ranged about your throne, to defend it against the conspiracies of rebels, and the enterprises of the factious.

And I, Sire, who in their honourable hatred have found the recompense of my persevering opposition, I shall deserve it always by my zeal in serving the cause to which my whole life is devoted, and by my
fidelity

fidelity to the oath I have given to the Nation, the Law, and the King.

Such, Sire, are the unalterable sentiments, of which I offer to your Majesty the homage, with that of my respect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

Letter of M. LA FAYETTE to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, read at the Sitting of the 18th of June, 1792.

At the intrenched Camp of Maubeuge,
16th of June, 1792.
The fourth Year of Liberty.

GENTLEMEN,

At the moment, perhaps too long delayed, when I was about to call your attention to very interesting national concerns, and to point out, among our other dangers, the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence has for a long time accused, I learn that, unmasked by its division, it has

has fallen a victim to its own intrigues; for, without doubt, it is not by sacrificing three of his colleagues, devoted by their insignificance to his power, that the least excusable, the most notorious of those ministers, shall have cemented his equivocal and scandalous existence in the council of the King.

It is not, however, sufficient that that branch of government should be delivered from a fatal influence; the public cause is in danger; the fate of France is in the hands of its representatives; the nation expects from them its safety; but in giving itself a constitution, it has prescribed to them the only means by which they are enabled to save it.

Persuaded, Gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of the whole constituent Assembly, a constitution becomes the law of the legislators it has established, it is to yourselves that I ought to denounce the too powerful efforts that are made to
 estrange

estrangle you from that rule which you have promised to follow.

Nothing shall prevent me from exercising that right of a free man, from fulfilling that duty of a citizen: neither the momentary wanderings of opinion; for what are opinions that escape from principle? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; for I respect still more the people, of whom the constitution is the supreme wish: nor the good-will that you have constantly expressed towards me; for I wish to preserve it, as I acquired it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumstances are difficult; France is threatened from without, and agitated within: while foreign courts announce the intolerable project of aiming at our national sovereignty, and declare themselves the enemies of France, our interior enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain a chimerical hope, and distress us with their insolent malevolence.

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You ought, Gentlemen, to suppress them, and you will only have the power to do so, by continuing to act constitutionally and justly.

You wish it, no doubt: but turn your observation to what passes in your own bosom and around you.

Can you conceal from yourselves that a faction, and, to avoid vague denominations, that the faction of the Jacobins has been the cause of all the disorders? It is that which I most fervently accuse. Organized like a separate empire, in its metropolitan society and its affiliations, blindly directed by a few ambitious chiefs, that sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps by subjugating their representatives and their mandatories.

It is there that in the public sittings the love of the laws is called aristocracy, and the infraction of them patriotism; there

there the assassins of Desilles receive their triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find their panegyrist; there the account of the assassination which has defiled the town of Metz, has just excited infernal acclamations.

Will they think to escape from these reproaches, by presuming on an Austrian manifesto in which they are named? Are they become sacred because Leopold has pronounced their name? And because we ought to combat foreigners who interfere with our disputes, can we dispense with delivering our country from domestic tyrants?

What have the plans of foreigners, their connivance with counter-revolutionists, and their influence over the luke-warm friends of liberty, to do with this duty? It is I who denounce this sect before you; I, who without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who pretend to suspect me: “Approach in this moment of crisis, in

“ which the character of every one is about
 “ to be known, and let us see which of us
 “ more inflexible in his principles, and
 “ more obstinate in his resistance, will
 “ better brave those obstacles and those
 “ dangers which traitors conceal from their
 “ country, but which every brave citizen
 “ knows well how to calculate and meet
 “ for her.”

And how could I longer delay fulfilling
 this duty, when every day weakens the
 constituted authorities, and substitutes the
 spirit of party for the will of the people ;
 when the audacity of the disturbers of the
 peace imposes silence on every peaceable
 citizen, banishes every useful man, and
 when the devotedness of sectaries takes
 place of every public and private virtue,
 which ought to be the reserved and only
 means of attaining to the first functions of
 government.

It is after having opposed to every ob-
 stacle, to every snare, the persevering pa-
 triotism

triotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its general, that I can now oppose to that faction, the correspondence of a ministry, the worthy produce of its club ; that correspondence, of which all the calculations are false, the promises vain, and the securities deceitful or frivolous, the advices perfidious or contradictory ; in which, after having urged me to advance without precautions, and attack without means, they were beginning to tell me that resistance would soon become impossible,—when my indignation rejected that cowardly assertion,

What a remarkable conformity of language there is, Gentlemen, between the factious whom the Aristocracy avow, and those who usurp the name of patriots ! Both wish to overthrow our laws, to divert themselves with our disorders, rise up against the authorities which the people have composed, detest the National Guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow among them at one moment distrust, and at another discouragement.

With respect to me, Gentlemen, who espoused the American cause, even at the moment when its ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who, from that time, devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty, and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, in presenting to my country a declaration of rights, dared to tell her—"for a nation
 "to be free, it is sufficient that she wills
 "to be so!" I come to day, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards that desert it, and indignation against the traitors who wish to defile it; I come to declare that the French nation, if it be not the vilest in the universe, can, and ought to resist the combination of Kings who have conspired against her.

It is not in the midst of my brave army, that timid sentiments are permitted: patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, and every virtue, civil and military, I find here. Here the principles
 of

of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws are respected, and properties are sacred; here we are neither acquainted with calumnies nor factions: and when I think that France has several millions of men, who might become such soldiers, I ask myself, “to what degree of degradation must an
 “immense people be reduced, a people
 “stronger by their natural resources than
 “by their artificial defences, and opposing
 “to a distorted confederation the advantage
 “of united combinations, when the co-
 “wardly idea of sacrificing their sove-
 “reignty, of trampling upon their liberty,
 “and of capitulating a declaration of their
 “rights, can appear one of the future pos-
 “sibilities, which advance with rapidity
 “upon us,”

But in order that we, soldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with advantage to our country, it is necessary that the number of its defenders should be quickly proportioned to that of its adversaries; that the quantity of provisions of

every kind should be increased, and facilitate our motions ; that the food of the troops, their furniture, their pay, the cares relative to their health, should no longer be subject to fatal delays or pretended sparings, which turn in an inverse direction from their end.

It is especially necessary that the citizens rallied about the constitution, should be assured that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, which will ensure the despair of our concealed and public enemies.

Reject not this prayer ! it is that of the sincere friends of your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measure can serve a cause that owes its strength and its glory to the sacred bases of liberty and equality, procure that criminal justice may take again its constitutional direction ; that civil equality, that religious

gious liberty, may enjoy the entire application of true principles.

That the royal power may be inviolate, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; that it may be independent, for that independence is one of the springs of our liberty; that the King may be respected, for he is invested with the Majesty of the Nation; that he may choose a ministry that bears not the chains of any faction; and that, if there exist conspirators, they may perish only under the sword of the law.

At last, that the reign of clubs (annihilated by you) may give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims, to the true principles of liberty; their infatuated fury, to the calm and constant courage of a nation, that knows its rights and defends them; and lastly, their sectarian combinations, to the true interests
of

of the country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to reunite all those to whom its slavery and ruin are not the objects of an atrocious rejoicing and infamous speculation.

Such are, Gentlemen, the representations and petitions that a citizen, whose love of liberty must be indisputable, submits to the National Assembly, as he has already submitted them to the King; a citizen whom the different factions would hate the less, if he were not superior to them by his disinterestedness; whom silence would have better suited, if, like so many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the National Assembly, and the confidence with which it is necessary that it should be surrounded; and who could not have better testified his own confidence in it, than by speaking the truth without disguise.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience and my oaths. It was a
duty

duty I owed to the country, to you, to the King, and to myself, whom the chances of war permit not to adjourn those observations I think useful, and who love to think that the National Assembly will find in them a new proof of my devotion to its constitutional authority, of my personal gratitude and respect.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

When the above letter was read in the National Assembly, it was a pleasure to observe, that some of its members had yet preserved sense and courage enough to acknowledge by their applauses the truth and justice of La Fayette's observations ; for although, I am sorry to observe it, few I believe would have dared to have made themselves a similar proposition ; yet, when such a proposition was once made, there were not wanting some members to defend and support it ;—to every honest man the letter appeared as a signal to recal him to his

his duty, and perseverance in the just cause: but in this Assembly, commonly called of free debate, when any known protector of the laws arose, and was beginning to plead in defence of the constitution, and consequently of that part of it to which the executive power was entrusted, he was immediately condemned to silence by the tumults of the Assembly and the hisses of the tribunes, who were hired to support the Patriots and confound the Aristocrats, by their vociferous acclamations. What truth, humanity, or justice could be expected to prevail in a society where the domineering multitude permitted nothing to be heard but what was calculated to defend their despotism, and where its members were studious only for phrases to amuse and pleasure the ears of the rabble, instead of promoting and shewing them their real interests? Strangers to what would be productive of the intrinsic good of the country, and totally and universally inexperienced in the means of promoting it, the majority of the National

tional Assembly, who call themselves Patriots, suffer themselves on all occasions to be blindly led by the still more ignorant rabble, or the influence of their ambitious chiefs.

Their decrees are not the effects of a calm, cool and deliberate debate, in which both sides of the question might be heard with candour and judged with impartiality ; but of momentary infatuation and tumultuous uproar. In fact, it is not the Assembly that passes the decree, but the tribunes in the galleries.

When a motion is made, if conciliatory to the dispositions of the multitude, they immediately applaud ; some of the prevailing Patriots then get up, utter a few flowery sentences in favour of the motion and the sovereignty of the people's will, the motion is put to the vote and passed. If, however, some man of honour and principle, (for some such there are even in the present Assembly) should find the motion irreconcilable

cilable to the true interests of the country, and should attempt to speak against it, he is immediately hooted at, and suppressed by the tribunes ; in short, the only part the advocates for right and justice, there denominated Aristocrats, are allowed to take, is to rise silently in support of, or against a motion ; and, consequently, being the minority, they never, or seldom can prevail.

But what proceedings of a different nature could be expected from such men as, in general, compose the legislative body ? The few men of talents, integrity and experience (of the latter qualification there are very few indeed) are condemned to silence as Aristocrats ; the majority consists of men, many without education, all without knowledge, experience, or ability in concerns of state, and without any other principle but that of a subversion of order, and a pretended spirit of equality, unmasked to the discerning, by their infamous attempts at superiority. Some of the mem-
bers

bers can, absolutely, neither write nor read. The infatuated people, when they assembled this chaos of ignorance, thought that nothing more was necessary to form a legislator than a love of liberty, and that a Patriot must inevitably make a good governor; they little dreamt of experience, political knowledge, and historical information; of reason to examine, sense to discover, and judgment to decide on the important points of administration; of penetration to investigate, of ingenuity to discriminate, of language to disclose, and argument to prove. All was to be supplied by patriotism: and patriotism has done its all. It has, in its oratorical capacity, substituted action for words, sentiment for argument, and tumultuary proceedings and menaces for free and uncontrolled debate: in its judicial capacity, it has substituted the cry of the rabble for the voice of justice; the imputation of Aristocracy for the conviction of crimes, and the dagger of the assassin for the sword of the law. In its moral capacity, it has substituted

tuted cruelty for charity, revenge for forgiveness of injuries, drunkenness for sobriety, and the force of arms for the law of nature. In its religious capacity, it has substituted ridicule for love, blasphemy for adoration, and an idol for its God. In its military capacity, it has substituted riot for order, insubordination for discipline, and frenzy for true courage. In its legislative capacity, it has substituted the whim of the moment for the decided experience of ancestry, the fear of the rabble for the voice of the nation, and the ambition of individuals for the good of the public. And lastly, in its political capacity, it has substituted sacrilege and plunder for an honourable and equitable revenue; destroyed the very foundation and the soul of liberty; banished from its country her best friends, annihilated her commerce, impoverished her resources, exposed her to the devastation of conquerors, deposed her lawful Sovereign, and made the whole world her enemies.

But

But to return to my narrative. La Fayette's letter, as it must be supposed, excited the most violent indignation of the Jacobins; they represented him as a traitor to the country, united with the King and the Aristocracy to enslave the nation, by procuring the abolition of the popular societies, by which they asserted, that the spirit of liberty could alone be kept alive; they accused him of attempting to overawe the National Assembly, by dictating terms to them at the head of his army; and they who had entirely rendered the Assembly dependent on themselves, were, on this occasion, the first to assert its independence. Some of the Patriots, though far from the least sanguinary, or the least inimical to La Fayette, had the baseness, a baseness to which cowardly cunning frequently applies, to pretend that they had too good an opinion of him to believe that the letter was of his writing. They maintained that the letter must have been forged; that it was impossible that a man who had shewn himself so much the friend

of liberty, who had so long been honoured with the love and confidence of the people; could betray them in the moments of their greatest danger : they knew that La Fayette must soon avow the letter, and thought that by crying him up to the people in the mean time, as a man totally incapable of such unexampled treachery as they represented it, their indignation would be the greater when assured of his being the author of it. Such complicated villany had, however, at last, its desired effect: the National Assembly declined deciding on the letter till they should be better assured of its authenticity. But the Jacobins, in the mean time, used every artifice their revenge could suggest to procure a burst of indignation in the populace on the avowal of it.

The letter of La Fayette had not, however, so much occupied the attention of the populace, as to induce them to forget the sanction which the King had refused
to

to the decree concerning the camp of twenty thousand men.

Already was it known that the citizens were to assemble on the 20th. The corporation, by a petition from the Faux-bourgs, had received advice of it on the 16th. They well knew that, under the pretence of presenting a petition, the populace had an intention perfectly understood by the chiefs of the municipality: they contented themselves, however, with passing to the order of the day.

On Tuesday the 19th, it was announced, that the populace intended to plant under the windows of the palace, not the poplar, the tree of liberty which they usually plant on such occasions, but an aspin-tree. The idea diverted their trifling minds, and seemed the presage of declining royalty. The Jacobins, animated by Danton, Lafource and Santerre, made the hall of their society resound with horrible imprecations against the King. The

letter of La Fayette had electrified them, and Lasource had proposed that any man who chose might assassinate him with impunity.

On Tuesday the 19th, while the minds of the people were in this state of agitation, a grand repast, at which were about five hundred persons, was held in the Elysian Fields. The people came to take a part in the conviviality of their representatives. Dugazon sung, and Anacharsis Cloots drank toasts; Cloots, the Prussian, who two days before had proposed to cashier the King, and name M. Rolland chief of the executive power, with a revenue of three hundred thousand livres.

The same evening the Capuchin Deputy Chabot employed himself in inflaming the minds of the people of the fauxbourg St. Antoine: for this pious purpose, he took possession of a pulpit in one of the churches,* from which he held forth to them,

* L'Eglise des Enfants trouvés.

them, for more than two hours, on the lawfulness of insurrection, and the duty and necessity they were under of doing themselves justice by obliging the King to sanction the decree. His discourse was in every particular calculated to inflame the people against the King, whom he represented to them as a useless being, impeding the wheels of government, and an enemy to the constitution.

The directory of the department, however, less tumultuously factious than the municipality, had just passed an order to prevent unlawful assemblies, and repress the disturbers of the public peace. After the reading of this order, the Assembly passed to the order of the day; and the order of the day was to hear an incendiary petition from the Jacobins of Marseilles*,

F 3

which

* LEGISLATORS!

Liberty is in danger! The free men of the south are armed to defend it! The day of the people's passion is arrived! The people are tired of parrying blows; they are resolved to give them.

The

which it was decreed should be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments. It was under such auspices that the morning of the 20th arose.

M. Rœderer, the Procureur-General-Syndic, appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, to inform them of the different multitudes that were collected together in the fauxbourgs, in consequence of the tacit permission of the municipality and the Assembly, and of the instructions of three members, who, from six o'clock in the

The people are tired of being the sport of conspiracies ! They have cast a terrible frown on the conspirators, Favour, Legislators, the warlike sentiment that animates them. You have the strength of the people in your hands, employ it ! A longer constraint may weaken the springs of it. We will give no more quarter, since we no longer expect quarter.

The French people demand of you a decree, authorising them to march toward the capital and the frontiers, with forces still more imposing than those you have just decreed. The people are determined to finish the Revolution ; ought you to prevent that sublime work ? Can you, Legislators ? No ! you will not refuse the authority of the law to those who will die in its defence !

the morning, had been on the place of the Bastile, the spot appointed for their rendezvous. M. Rœderer informed the senate of his fears that this crowd of people intended proceeding to the palace, to present a petition, in arms; he prayed the Assembly not to receive them, and thus to maintain the law of the constitution. While they were debating on the advice of M. Rœderer, Santerre* arrived at the head of his troop, and sent to the Assembly, desiring permission to appear at the bar, and afterwards to introduce his troop. Mr. Lafource ascended the tribune, and informed the Assembly that he had seen Santerre, and could assure them from him that the intention of the citizens was not to proceed to the palace, but to depose, in the bosom of the legislative power, the address they wished to present to the King.

F 4 The

* Santerre is a brewer, and was at that time commander of the battalion of the fauxbourg Saint Antoine.

The Assembly were debating whether they should be admitted or not*, when the President announced that the troop consisted of eight thousand men, who demanded permission to appear. Some members required that their admission should be put to the vote ; others, that the sitting should be broke up. The President observed that they were at the door, and were waiting ; and twenty-five millions of men, replied M. Ramond, are also waiting, and bind you to your duties.— Some required that the petitioners should be ordered to lay down their arms, and that they should be informed that the step they had taken was illegal ; others, that they should be admitted as they were. Great tumults arose in the Assembly, and the discussion might have lasted much longer, had not the petitioners taken the surest way of putting an end to it, by making their appearance. The orator read
a me-

* The law actually forbid any number of citizens to appear armed before the legislative body.

a memorial of eight pages. The memorial was written with blood ; and every line of it seemed a sentence of destruction against the court and palace. The Assembly and the tribunes applauded loudly. Santerre demanded and obtained permission to introduce his troop. They entered, and, in an instant, the arena of the senate-house was filled with the lowest rabble that Paris could produce, preceded by, and interspersed with a few National Guards, to give them at least the appearance of legality. Saint Huruge and Santerre were at their head. Among them were seen chimney-sweepers, colliers, street-porters ; men half naked, carrying their rags upon the point of a pike ; negroe women, common street walkers, and others ; armed with hooks, swords, pincers, scythes, forks, twibills, bludgeons, pickaxes, spits, pikes, and a variety of new invented instruments of cruelty and destruction : some of them bore on their pikes bits of bread, cheese, and other articles of food ; some bonnets of various

various colours, some inscriptions of treasonable tendencies, and one of them a pair of ragged breeches. Such was the troop that remained during three hours in the hall of the Assembly, and which came to present to the alarmed representatives a specimen of the camp they demanded at the gates of Paris.

Such were the people who, on the 14th of July, 1789, caused all the shops to be shut up, and occasioned, by the alarm they inspired, an universal and armed insurrection, which became, they themselves know not how, a wonderful Revolution.

In the mean time, the National Guards were assembled, and surrounded on all sides the palace and garden of the Tuilleries; the three regiments of the line at Paris were under arms; three thousand of the cavalry of the Gendarmerie formed a triple line of battle before the royal court; two hundred Swiss guarded the court of the Queen, and the court of Marfan; and
twenty

twenty pieces of cannon disposed about the palace, it should seem ought to have been sufficient to have protected the avenues of it.

An immense crowd had collected around the gate of the garden that fronts the Pont Royal; thousands had been admitted, but the gate had since been shut, and orders had been given to admit no more. At least four thousand of the National Guards were drawn up close to it; the mob demanded admittance, which being refused, they burst the gate open, and poured into the gardens with the loudest acclamations of triumph.

They, however, who were appointed to guard the avenue by the Place of Louis the Fifteenth, had better executed their orders; they had planted the cannon so as perfectly to command the entrance; and a numerous guard prevented the admission of every one, but the armed rabble, who marched in continually to partake of and
share

share in the sport prepared for them by Santerre's troop.

About two o'clock there had assembled in the gardens of the Tuilleries and the Place de Caroufel, about forty thousand of the armed rabble ; they who were in the gardens having united, marched along the front line of the National Guards who were drawn up before the palace, covering the whole façade, and the national colours saluted them as they passed in sign of union, till they arrived at the grenadiers, who refused to wave their colours ; the mob instantly wheeled about, and after a few turns about the garden, prepared for their entrance into the palace.

The three regiments of the line had now arrived, and having marched up close to the National Guards, halted, and ranged themselves in a line at right angles with the palace.

M. de

M. de Wittenghoff, lieutenant general of the division of Paris; M. de Romainvilliers, commandant of the National Guards; Messrs. Acloque and Mandat, secondary chiefs, were with the King, but they had with them neither adjutants, nor aids de camp, and very few officers.

About an hundred and fifty gentlemen, among whom were the marechals De Mailly, De Mouchy, and De Bauveau, were in the apartments, ready to make a rampart with their bodies around the King. During the whole morning the National Guard in the courts had expressed a displeasure at their appearance; their black dresses had excited the frequent cry of *à bas la culotte*. The King, recalling to his mind the scenes that took place on the 28th of February, and not being willing to see the innocent persecuted under his eyes, and become victims to the lawless indignation of the multitude, ordered them to quit his apartment; they who were immediately in his service

*

also

also received orders to quit the palace, and the King remained almost alone in it.

On the 28th of February, the friends of the throne, who had gathered together to protect it, had at least the consolation of perceiving that the insults they received preserved his Majesty from outrages and ignominy ; but now they could not hope to draw on themselves alone the violence of the faction ; but this idea did not diminish their sorrows or their uneasinesses.

At half after three, and while the King was dining, the rabble had all assembled, after having frequently marched about from place to place, in the Place de Caroussel and the terrace of the garden. Great cries were heard, and the royal palace was attacked.

The Gendarmerie without had received orders to load their arms ; but some refused to do it, others threw their powder on the ground ; some tore their cartridges

tridges and threw away the balls, others hoisted and waved their hats on the points of their bayonets, and every thing proved to the populace that they partook of their sentiments. This scene passed under the eyes of their brave and respectable commander M. de Rulhières, who was trembling with indignation against them. The royal gate was opened by the porter, and the guards, alarmed no doubt at the menaces of the populace, and the pikes they presented at them.

On the first appearance of the armed rabble in the courts, a cry was heard in the palace that the King was delivered up to them. The dinner was interrupted; every body was in commotion; every one was seeking orders; nobody gave them, and the confusion began.

The cannoniers, however, in the royal court, began charging their cannon. This motion stopt short the group of pikemen, surprised no doubt to find themselves already

ready

ready entered. A line of National Guards which reached from the court gate to the Café de Caroufel would have prevented the cannoniers from firing; besides, they were without orders, and restrained by a diversity of opinion; they soon discontinued their manœuvres, and the populace entered.

At the same instant, the people on the terrace (on the opposite side of the palace) surmounted every resistance that was opposed to them: the guards attempted to shut the iron-gate; it was too late; the populace had already crowded the portico, they rushed up the staircase, and penetrated into the palace.

The King, in the mean time, was in the apartments of M. Tourteau de Septeuil, his valet de chambre, from whence he saw every thing that had passed in the courts. He advanced to the bull's eye*, the

* A room so called from its small circular windows, which windows are very common in the palaces and great houses in France.

the door of which, attacked from without, was defended by a party of National Grenadiers.

It was about this time that a cannon dismounted from its carriage, was brought by strength of arm into the hall of the guards. The King advancing to the door, said, " I will go to them, I will prevent them from breaking open the door : come to me, grenadiers ; I wish only for four, and let the door be opened." They opened the door, and at the same instant a pike which had been directed against the door, finding no resistance, would have pierced the King, but for the intervention of a chasseur, who turned it aside with his hand.

The King was immediately led by those who surrounded him to the further end of the room, where he stood, defended by four grenadiers, and leaning on M. Acloque. Madame Elizabeth, who had not quitted the King during the whole day, remained

at the entrance of the apartment at the first window, supported by M. de Marcilly, so that all who entered were obliged to pass by her, before they could arrive at the spot where the King was.

Asbamed of finding themselves there, the pikemen stood for some time astonished and confused ; and the greater part of them presented only the spectacle of folly, curiosity and surprise. However, the butcher Legendre soon arrived with a group of his friends ; one of them presented to the King a red cap ; one of the grenadiers put it aside with his hand, and was wounded in the arm by the thrust of a pike. Another man approached, offered to the King a bottle, and desired him to drink to the health of the nation. Some one offered to fetch a glass ; the King refused the offer ; and immediately, without fear, and without repugnance, he applied the impure vessel to his august lips, and drank of the uncertain liquor. One of the grenadiers asked, as a favour, the honour of
drinking

drinking after his master ; he was worthy of obtaining it, and it was granted : taking advantage of this moment of confusion, one of the rabble placed himself the red cap upon the head of the King ; he put it on, pressing with his hands the temples of his master.

While that forehead, which formerly had been crowned, was thus concealed under the gross emblem of licentiousness, the King was raised upon a stool, and presented to the populace, who loaded him with the most undeserved reproaches : some of them threatened him with their brandished arms, and carried their audacity so far as to tell him, that the measure of his crimes was at the full, and that he ought to yield up his head upon the scaffold. The King replied to them in the most feeling tone : “ Alas ! if no-
 “ thing but my head was necessary for the
 “ good of France, with what joy would
 “ I offer it a sacrifice.” The ferocious populace replied only to those paternal

words with a cry of “ à la lanterne, à la
“ lanterne !

In the mean time the crowd increased ; they continued to break in on all sides, and in all parts : the windows, the roofs, the balconies, the parapets, every part of the palace was invested by this tumultuous and dirty rabble. Some were dancing on the leads, others were employed in erecting a pole, from which was suspended a pair of breeches, on the top of the palace, as an emblem of the victory the fans-culottes had gained ; and many in chalking or scratching, on the walls of the palace, the most infamous and treasonable falsehoods against the King and Queen : while books, entitled, “ The perfidies of Louis “ the Sixteenth,” and replete with the grossest invectives, had been printed for the occasion, and were selling at low prices among the people in the garden, and handed up by pikes and hooks to the rabble in the apartments.

The

The National Assembly, perceiving, too late, the fault they had committed, resolved at least to repair it, by a conduct superior to that which the Constituent Assembly adopted on a similar occasion. Mirabeau was no longer there to teach the legislative power that it was inconsistent with its dignity to attend the hereditary representative of the nation. Successive deputations were, therefore, sent to interpose between the people and their King. Some of the rabble demanded, from time to time, that the two vetos, that respecting the camp, and that respecting the priests, should be withdrawn; they added also a kind of wish for the recal of the three seditious ministers.

These verbal petitions were supported every now and then by notes written with pencils, which the factious on the terrace, handed up to those in the apartments.

The King replied to all, that his attachment to the constitution was inviola-

ble, and that if they had any demand to make, that was not the moment for them to propose, or him to grant it. Isnard and Vergniaux confirmed these truths to the people; and this people, who at bottom cared very little about M. Roland, M. Claviere and M. Servan, replied disdainfully to Vergniaux and Isnard, “ that
 “ is your business, do as you please; it is
 “ only by you and for you that we came
 “ here.”

At last the Mayor of Paris arrived, the man whose business it was, had he attended to his duty more than his principles, to have prevented these shocking scenes: applauded by the rabble as he passed through the courts, he observed to them that he had only done his duty, that he was sensible of their kind approbation and applause, and other such trifling nonsense. Having arrived at the spot where the King still remained, he mounted on a stool, recommended moderation to the crowd, and had the audacity to observe
 to

to the King, that he had nothing to fear. Indignant at such an observation, the King put his hand upon his breast, and said to M. Petion, with emotion, “ The
 “ honest man who has a pure conscience,
 “ knows no fear nor regret ; it is they
 “ only who have any thing to reproach
 “ themselves with, who have reason to
 “ fear. Hold, my friend,” added he, taking the hand of a grenadier who was near him, “ give me your hand, put it on
 “ my heart, and tell me if it beats faster
 “ than usual.”

The troop now began to withdraw, and the night approaching, at last permitted the King to breathe, after five hours of anguish. The Mayor of Paris concluded his guilty day by an harangue well worthy of him to the people : these were his words : “ Citizens, men and women,
 “ you began the day with dignity and
 “ wisdom ; you have proved that you are
 “ free ; finish it with the same dignity,
 “ and do, like me,—go to bed.”

The Queen, who had been with the King in the apartments of M. Septeuil, when the people first began to break into the palace, found herself separated from him, after he had ran to present himself before the rabble who were forcing the doors with clubs and hatchets. Madame Elizabeth had followed the footsteps of her august brother, accompanied by M. Marcilly, and M. de Saint Pardoux, her pages. She had arrived in time to be a witness of the imposing scene that had taken place at the opening of the doors, when one of the savages rushing in among the first, exclaimed, “ Where is he, that
 “ I may kill him !” brandishing in his hand a stick armed with the blade of a sword. He directed a thrust at the King. A brave man, Conolle, a National Guard, not only turned aside the weapon, but rushing on the regicide, seized him, and made him fall on his knees before the King, obliging him to cry, “ Vive le Roi !” This bold action so much confounded the rabble that were with him, that they
 were

were seized with astonishment, and remained for some time stupified: and it was, perhaps, to this courageous conduct that the royal family chiefly owed its safety.

The Queen, however, had not been able to prevail upon those who accompanied her, to suffer her to follow her husband when he presented himself before the rabble. All were deaf to her cries and tears. “ My place is by the King,” said she: “ It is by your children,” replied Messrs. d’Hauffonville and de Choiseul-Stainville. “ But my sister is serving him as a rampart, and I ——” “ Listen to your children who call you !” exclaimed one: and immediately the cries of those two innocents, alarmed by the noise and the absence of their mother, struck her ears. They conducted her against her inclination into the interior part of the palace. The first thing that was done was to place the royal children in safety. Madame de Mackau, and Ma-
dame

dame de Souzy, hurried them into the apartments of the King's physician.

The Queen, having recovered from a fainting fit into which the alarm had thrown her, ordered them to be brought to her, that she might not quit them the whole day; she then insisted on the necessity of her going with them to the King; and breaking through every obstacle they opposed to her, she had already got into the council chamber, when the doors of it were attacked. Very fortunately, M. Lajarre, the minister at war, and General Wittinghoff had retired to the same spot. The danger was immediate. M. Lajarre, with great presence of mind, had the great council table ranged cross-ways near the door; and formed a kind of intrenchment with it, behind which he placed the Queen, the two children, and the ladies of honour.

A double line of National Guards was placed before the table; another line, four deep,

deep, closed the issues of the two extremities. It was in this inclosure that the Queen stood, having before and beside her, the Princess de Lamballe, Madame de Tarente, Madame de Chimay, Madame de Larouche-Aymon, Mesdames de Duras, de Maillé, de Tourzel, and de Ginefious. The two children were on the table; and these dispositions were scarcely finished before the rabble had penetrated into this sanctuary.

It was then that, in the midst of the grossest injuries, of the most atrocious proposals, a woman, a species of fury terrible to behold, offered to her Majesty a cap, a National cockade, and a parcel of three coloured ribbands. M. de Wittinghoff took them, and put them on the Dauphin.

Already the crowd pressed against the table, and the noxious heat was suffocating, when Santerre approached. He was announced by the cries of, *Vive Santerre, vive le fauxbourg Saint Antoine,*
vivent

vivent les Sans-culottes. They implored his assistance to disgorge the hall, and obtain a circulation of air. He advanced, and leaning on the table, and looking stedfastly at the Queen, “Madam,” said he, “fear nothing, I will not hurt you; “I would sooner defend you; but reflect “that you are abused, and that it is dangerous to deceive the people.”

After that harangue, he delivered his orders, and his troop arranged themselves at his voice; he pushed one, animated a second, and threatened a third; all seemed to tremble at his aspect. At last, however, the troop began to withdraw. The ears of the Queen were no longer shocked by the grossest language, and the concert of imprecations was finished.

The calm was restored between eight and nine o'clock, and the King was delivered from his persecutors: he was conducted to his apartment; and there, throwing himself on a sofa, still covered
with

with the cap of ignominy, he breathed a sigh of thanks to Heaven, in gratitude for its protection.

His faithful servants were around him, soothing and comforting the distresses of their royal master, who felt much more the stain that such a day had brought upon his country, than all the insults offered to himself. The Queen and children arrived, the cap was taken off, and royalty seemed to revive: revive! it had not drooped an instant; the viler the treatment he had experienced, the greater was his glory.

And now a most affecting scene succeeded to the horrors of imprecation; sighs and tears were intermingled; but the pleasure they derived from the idea of their mutual safety, was hardly permitted to dawn through the reflection of the horrors they had witnessed.

The

The palace was not entirely evacuated 'till near nine. His Majesty immediately gave orders that the justices of the peace should come and examine into the state of the palace, and by a legal act, attest to posterity the sacrilegious violation of the royal asylum. Messrs. D'Ossonville and Menjaud were the magistrates charged with this delicate function. They found that doors had been burst open, locks taken away, furniture demolished, wainscots forced in, and glasses broken; and among other thefts that had been committed, they remarked that of a sword belonging to the Swiss of the chamber, and a silver vessel belonging to the Princess Royal.

But what the magistrates could not attest, and what, however, ought equally to be handed down to the judgment of posterity, was the most infamous proposals addressed and repeated to the King, during a whole hour, by a young man, named Clément; who, possessing an identity

tity of name, seemed to be emulous of an identity of character with the assassin of Henry the Third.

Another, having on a grenadier's cap, made of paper, on which was inscribed *La Sanction ou-la Mort*, fixed a long time the attention of the King; but nothing could intimidate him : he had done nothing but his duty, and, in doing that, he always had been (and still continued to be) resolute and firm. And if fate reserved the eternal degradation of the French name to a future moment, it seemed because there still remained a King whose honour was invincible, and who alone was found capable of sustaining its dignity and the majesty of the nation ; every virtue seemed to have taken refuge and concentrated itself in his heart.

Although the night of the 5th of October established the triumph of Marie-Antoinette ; although her courage, and her Majesty then disarmed her assassins, yet

yet was the day of the 20th of June still more memorable. Louis the Sixteenth almost alone enjoyed the honours of it.

On the 5th of October, the moment of the danger and that of the victory passed with the rapidity of the circumstance. On the 20th of June, the constancy, the steady and long-tried magnanimity of the King were put to the rudest and severest trials the human heart could support, and did not shrink from them in a single instance. If the French had, on all occasions, endeavoured, by every means in their power, to give the world a just estimate of the real character of Louis the Sixteenth, they could not have succeeded so well as they have done by their infamous attempts to degrade him. The more he has been insulted, injured and oppressed, the higher has he been exalted in the opinion of every honest man.

I cannot, however, pass over in silence the affectionate attachment the King and
Queen

Queen experienced from all their attendants in the palace, from the ladies of honour to the lowest servant ; all with the most zealous efforts did every thing in their power to serve and save their royal masters. But how, indeed, could they help loving this unfortunate family ?—They saw them every day, and every day they were witnesses to their virtues, and every day they saw them insulted and persecuted.

Thus terminated a day which would have completed the dishonour of the French name, but for the virtues, the courage and magnanimity of the Prince *sans peur et sans reproches*. But it must be observed, that while the crowd were enjoying these excesses, not a single spectator was missing from any the smallest of the many theatres ; not a single gambler from the banks of Biribi, Trente et Quarante, and Faro ; not a stroller from the Elysian Fields, or the Bois de Boulogne : so that the following reflection of Tacitus

tus might aptly be applied to them,—
 Nunc inhumana securitas, et ne minimæ
 quidem temporis voluptates intermissæ.
 Velut festis diebus, id quoque gaudium
 accederet, exultabant, fruebantur, nullâ
 partium curâ, malis publicis læti.

Having endeavoured to give an exact
 account of the enormities committed on
 the 20th of June, though I am conscious
 that many must have escaped me; I shall
 proceed to make some observations on the
 conduct of the different powers, whose
 duty it was to prevent, and punish the au-
 thors of them.

On the 19th, the directory passed a
 resolution which enjoined the mayor, the
 municipality, and the commandant gene-
 ral, to take, without delay, *every necessary*
measure to prevent all assemblies contrary
 to law, and to make every disposition of
 the public force, that might be necessary
 to restrain, or repress the disturbers of
 the peace.

On

On the 20th, the directory of the department being admitted to the bar of the National Assembly, M. Rœderer observed, “ An extraordinary concourse of
 “ people is, at this moment, assembling in
 “ *contempt of the law.* This Assembly
 “ appears to be animated by patriotic intentions ; but it is to be feared, that they
 “ wish to support, *by the appearance of an*
 “ *armed force, an address to the King.*
 “ The minister of the interior has de-
 “ fired us to send troops to defend the pa-
 “ lace in this moment of alarm, and
 “ has recalled to our minds the law
 “ *which forbids all armed assemblies, un-*
 “ *less required, and petitions presented by*
 “ *more than twenty citizens.*”

I have before mentioned the conduct of the municipality, who, when they had received notice on the 16th of the insurrection that was to take place on the 20th, contented themselves with passing to the order of the day.

But ought the municipality, on the petition, which, by the bye, was falsely presented to them in the name of the citizens of the fauxbourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau*, simply to have passed to the order of the day? Doubtless, not. It was not sufficient not to reply to an unjust petition, the effects of which were as dangerous, as they were contrary to law; but they ought to have exercised every authority the law had given them, to protect and preserve it from infraction.

If M. Petion, at the moment that the assembly was forming on the place of the Bastille, had ordered the martial law to be

* The citizens respectably settled in these fauxbourgs, have no share in any of these seditious insurrections. These citizens, excepting Santerre, and a few others of his stamp, are as good and peaceable as those of the other quarters of the capital. They are enraged to see, on all occasions, their name so abused. In short, all the insurrections that take place in Paris, are composed of the lowest rabble, the refuse of the capital, who assume the name of the citizens of such and such fauxbourgs in which they reside or work.

be promulgated (a law which seems to be acknowledged and respected every where but at Paris), these pretended citizens would either have retired peaceably, or have proved themselves what they were, a lawless rabble : and, in that case, a lawful and repressive force ought to have been sent against them, which would have annihilated for ever this sacrilegious troop.

But such a conduct, though what his duty required, was inconsistent with the principles of M. Petion. He seems to have forgotten, or to be ignorant, that every public function has its allotted duties; that it is only by a strict performance of those duties, that a man can be justly entitled to remain in it. It is not by sacrificing the laws to the favour of the multitude, that an honest man would be ambitious of preserving his situation : but such is the continual conduct of M. Petion. Had he exercised the authority delegated to him by superior powers, for the safety and tranquillity of the capital, and which,

on this occasion, not only the law, but the directory by a particular order, expressly demanded ; he would have done honour to himself, and saved a stain to France : but he would have displeased the rabble, whose favour and protection he was sure of, by indulging their caprices ; and whose displeasure he more dreaded, than that of any of his lawful superiors.

When a man once condescends to hold a situation dependent on the favour of a rabble, he must bid adieu to every honourable principle ; he can no longer be influenced by duty, honour, or integrity ; he is like a dismasted vessel on a boundless ocean, abandoned to the fluctuating waves, and variable winds ; he banishes his own heart and mind from his bosom, and adopts those of the multitude in their stead.

Such a man, therefore, must ever be unfit for power ; yet, such a man is the mayor of Paris ;—raised from the lowest dungeons of chicanery and perjury, by the

the noxious breath of an empoisoned multitude, he brought with him into the magistracy, all those little arts his professional talents were composed of : but the inflammable air that has raised this balloon of ignorance into an unknown sphere, must soon evaporate ; and if he escape punishment, he will descend into a situation, in which obscurity will be his best friend.

In every complete government, the conduct of each public functioner is prescribed by laws. On any extraordinary emergency, a man in office is not to consult what is right or proper in his own opinion, what is most reconcilable to his own interest or safety, but what the laws direct ; and what those laws direct, it is his undoubted duty to enforce : if he does not enforce the laws, he becomes an unworthy magistrate, and ought to be suspended from his functions.

M. Petion ought, therefore, when he first knew of the assembly that was form-

ing on the place of the Bastile, instead of encouraging it, at least by his silence, to have represented to the populace that their assembling was unlawful, and invited them to withdraw. If they refused, he should have promulgated the martial law; if they still persisted, he should have ordered thither the lawfully armed force, and obliged them to retire.

I say not, however, that the National Guards would have exerted their best endeavours to disperse the rioters; (and of this insubordination I shall speak hereafter) but it was, undoubtedly, M. Petion's duty to authorize their commanders to give orders to that effect; and if such orders had not been executed, the blame would not have rested with him. This, however, the mayor did not do; he was, therefore, culpable, and deserved to be prosecuted in the name of the law.

A magistrate who knowingly does not his duty, ought to be punished with the severest

severest rigour. Will he say that, less informed than M. Rœderer, he was ignorant that the intentions of the populace were to support their petition to the King by the appearance of an armed force?—He is too well known to have it doubted, that he was perfectly acquainted with every circumstance.

Should the department, whose intentions were not to be suspected, but whose pusillanimity cannot but be blamed, have contented themselves with passing a resolution? Were they ignorant of the principles of the municipality? Did they not know that it was necessary to *oblige* them to act as the law directed? Could they doubt that Messrs. Petion, Manuel, and Danton were in the plot; and that in the hands of these Jacobin magistrates, every law repressive of injustice was, of course, invalid? Instead of going to the legislative assembly, whose part it was to make laws, and not to interfere in the execution of them, ought they not to have ordered
the

the mayor before them, and *obliged* him to see the martial law executed, that law which only can repress an insolent rabble? Of what use was the discourse which the Procureur-general syndic pronounced at the bar of the National Assembly? Did the department come to render an account which was not demanded of them? Did they come to remind the Assembly of a law which was violated with impunity every day? Did they come to ask orders which they did not want, and which the Assembly had no right to give? The constitution was completed, the laws were made, and nothing remained but to execute them: but it was not to the legislative power that the care of executing them was entrusted.

What, therefore, were the members of the department doing? Why, instead of losing a time so precious at the bar of the Assembly, did they not act? They were afraid of the Jacobins and the high National Court. They should have reflected,
that

that in the administration of justice it is not sufficient to have pure intentions ; to compromise with the law is to violate it. If they could not force the mayor and the other creatures of the municipality to give activity to the law, they themselves should have done it : they should first have saved the King ; they should have then dispersed the rabble, and prosecuted the refractory magistrates for the violation of that law they had sworn to defend.

Was peace and order to be restored by respecting or sparing a rabble, who respected or spared nothing ? They wished to shed the purest blood ; it was only by shedding the vilest blood in the kingdom, that *that* they wished to spill was to be preserved.

Let us now examine the conduct of Santerre. He wrote to the Assembly to announce to them, that “ the citizens of
 “ the fauxbourg Saint Antoine, assembled
 “ to celebrate a civic feast, request per-
 “ mission

“ mission to present their homage to the
 “ legislative body, to contradict their
 “ calumniators, and to introduce them-
 “ selves into the hall.”

“ *The citizens of the fauxbourg Saint*
 “ *Antoine!*” Excepting himself there was
 hardly a citizen, properly so called, of
 that fauxbourg, who was wicked enough
 to join with the seditious crew which he
 commanded.

“ *A civic feast!*” By eight thousand
 murderers and plunderers, armed with
 pikes, forks and scythes; in short, with
 the same instruments they were fur-
 nished with on the days of the 5th and
 6th of October.

“ *Present their homage to the legislative*
 “ *body!*” How flattering must it have
 been to the legislative body to receive the
 homage of assassins, assembled in contempt
 of the law, for the purpose of violating
 the constitution.

“ To contradict their calumniators !”
 Their actions on that day sufficiently proved how impossible it was to calumniate them.

It was during the discussion occasioned by this letter, that Messrs. Lafource, Guadet, and Vergniaux evinced the purity of their principles ; but purity of principle apart, the logic of M. Vergniaux was admirable ; he blamed the Assembly for the dangerous example they had so frequently given, by admitting armed men into their bosom, and concluded in favour of the admission of the present troop. At last, in defiance of a law which the Assembly could not be ignorant of, since the deputation from the department had just reminded them of it, they passed a decree that the petitioners should be admitted (after they had admitted themselves), and that the rabble should be introduced.

The orator of the deputation pronounced a discourse well worthy of it, and of
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the horde of ragamuffins who fill the tribunes, and give laws to the Assembly.

This discourse, replete with calumnies, abounding with blasphemies, and attentatory of the constitution; which breathed nothing but blood, assassinations and regicide, was ended by an assurance from the orator, that he had spoken the wishes of the sections of the capital, and the citizens of the environs of Paris.

According to his representation, therefore, the wishes of the sections were for the assassination of the King. And the sections had not courage enough to denounce this infamous calumniator!

The president replied favourably to this infernal discourse; and the Assembly, who could no longer doubt the sanguinary intentions of the mob, made not the least effort to prevent them from carrying their treasonable purposes into execution.

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On the contrary, they applauded, and admitted them into their bosom !

Where is the man capable of the smallest reflection, whose astonishment and indignation are not at the height in observing the conduct of the representatives of the French nation ? The ruling party, that party which dares introduce even into the bosom of the Assembly, its infamous proposals and treasonable principles, has ever triumphed over the constitution and its true defenders. The factious were always sure of finding in that party an assured support.

It would scarcely be believed that legislators could excuse, and even countenance the populace in their excesses, by giving as a reason the slumber of the law. Such a reason was, however, given. And who only can it be who wish that the law should slumber ? They alone that fear the execution of it. If the Assembly can suffer that one of the constituted authorities

rities should be a but to the caprices of a populace, stirred up by a corporation inimical to all authority, must it not tremble every moment for the inviolability of its own members? The personal interests of the deputies are, in this instance, in union with justice.

Does a thief on the highway examine the quality of the person he robs? Will they who are accustomed to, and hardened in crimes, respect one constituted authority more than they have respected another? The laws are dumb! But is that an excuse that a representative of the nation ought to make, he whose duty it is to make them speak? To what degree of degradation must that government be reduced, which is obliged to make its own crimes a palliative for the excesses of a lawless rabble! Poor, deluded France! It is in the bosoms of those on whom thou has lavished thy confidence, that the laws are unacknowledged; it is in the Assembly of thy representatives that calumny

lummy, ignorance, and blindness reign ; it is in the midst of them that the audacity of the Jacobins meets its triumph. What peace can'st thou enjoy, when, in the sanctuary of the laws, thou hearest the profession of principles subversive of all order ;—when thou seest thy representatives quarrel when they should debate ;—when thou seest two parties continually attacking each other ;—in short, when thou seest the unconstitutional party perpetually getting the better of those who demand the execution of the laws, and the respect due to the constituted authorities ?

How many are there in the National Assembly who make it their business to perpetuate disorder and anarchy throughout the kingdom ? Always at the tribune, always heard, because they were supported by the tribunes and the factious on the terrace ; it was they who preached to the Assembly and the people an independence on the law. It was they by whom the rioters were protected ; it was they by
 I whom

whom the incendiary writings, inviting the people to infurrection, were either uttered, corrected, or encouraged. It was they who inspired the people with a culpable distrust of their King; who caused to be admitted, with the honourable mention, all the groups of rabble who were hired to come to the bar of the National Assembly, to impose upon the world, by asserting that they spoke the sense of the nation, whose voice was contrary to their design. It was they who ordered the impression of all the regicide addresses, which, having been dictated by them, were read before them; and far from devoting them to the public execration, decreed the honourable mention of the libels, and the sending them to the eighty-three departments. Nor did they attempt to deceive the public with respect to their intentions. They professed loudly at their club those principles by which they forced from the minority the decrees they made without remorse, shame, or consideration. These were, however, the same people
 who

who asserted that the laws slumbered, and who pretended to legalise every thing by that assertion, unhappily too true. But who was it that obliged the laws to slumber? They who outraged them,—the Jacobins.

With what difficulty, even after the enormities of the 20th, did the true Patriots of the Assembly procure a decree repressive of the factious! And what was it when obtained? It was ineffective, it was insignificant; it was nothing more than a repetition of a law which had before existed, and which had just been violated.

On the 21st, the National Assembly passed a decree that “ hereafter no petitioner armed shall be admitted at the bar, nor into the hall of the legislative body, nor that of any constituted authority.” If the Assembly wished really to suppress these unlawful Assemblies, always troublesome in times of peace, but imminently dangerous in times of storms and factions, it should have decreed, that

all collections of people, even without arms, and under any pretence, were forbidden by the law ; that, for the execution of this decree, it enjoined, on their responsibility, the department and the municipality, to exercise all the authority the constitution had given them, to destroy and suppress in their infancy all such insurrections : and, proceeding upon this principle, the Assembly, who could not be ignorant that the clubs were the excitors of insurrections, should have decreed the suppression of all clubs under what denomination soever they existed. It is so that men who wished for the good and happiness of their constituents would have acted. But, on the contrary, excepting the deputations it sent to the King, the Assembly did every thing it could do to encourage the audacity of the rabble. It was reported to the Assembly that the doors of the King's apartments were broken open by assassins and plunderers ; that the hereditary representative of the nation had been, and still continued to be insulted, threatened,

ened,

ened, disgraced by a red cap which they obliged him to wear, and in the most imminent danger ; and they, the majority I mean, still persisted in defending, approving the conduct of, and flattering the people.

Well might Mr. Burke exclaim, that “ the age of chivalry is gone ! ” He might have added, that that of humanity was also passed in France. For when the Assembly was informed that the crowd had broken into the apartments where were the Dauphin and the ladies of honour, that they were in the greatest danger, and a motion was made for sending a deputation to them, a member got up and observed, that he supported the motion, not on account of the ladies of the court, for they were of no consequence, but on account of the Dauphin.

Before I quit the subject of the 20th, it is necessary to remark a little on the conduct of the National Guards on this occasion.

caſion. The National Guards conſider themſelves ſoldiers ; it ſhould, therefore, be unneceſſary to inform them, that when any poſt is intruſted to a ſoldier, he is bound to defend it to the laſt drop of his blood ; but, unfortunately for them, and the poſts committed to their care, there is not the leaſt diſcipline, military knowledge, or information among them.

I am certain that very few, if any of them, can go through the manual exerciſe ; and as to any of the more important military operations, they are as perfectly ignorant as a recruit juſt taken from the plough. They aſſemble, march about in great numbers, and in great parade ; but the dreſs of a ſoldier, generally ſpeaking, is all that can entitle them to be conſidered of that honourable profeſſion ; and even that is, in many inſtances, thought to be unneceſſary. They talk and conſult with each other while under arms, what they ſhall do, and where they ſhall go next ; and it is generally
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the soldiers who lead their officers, instead of their officers leading them. It seems totally impossible to discover the use of this collection of men and firelocks. So far from preventing any disturbance in the capital, they are generally the fomenters of it ; if not by their instigation, at least by their acquiescence, and their resolutions not to fire on their fellow citizens. The mob, knowing these resolutions, laugh at the shew of blue coats drawn up by their commanders against them, feel that they have nothing to fear, that they are under no restraint, and that every thing they attempt may be accomplished with impunity ; and, therefore, give themselves up to the execution of every lawless action their cruelty, revenge, or hatred may suggest.

As to the National Guards acting in opposition to a regular and well disciplined army, the necessary consequence of such an engagement, supposing them to be men of courage, must make huma-

nity shudder. How much, then, will those infatuated wretches have to answer for, who have persuaded this deluded multitude that the idea of liberty was alone sufficient to make a soldier, when they see them sacrificed by thousands, and ten thousands, before an obedient but less numerous army.

On the 20th of June, almost the whole force of Paris was drawn up in different parts to defend the palace. Every one had his assigned post, and every post was, supposing the guards properly inclined, sufficiently defended. Will the National Guards, after the example of the Assembly, say that the silence of the law rendered their arms invalid? They had had their respective posts assigned to them expressly, as they knew, for the defence of the palace. When these posts were attacked, they were bound, without any other order than that which they had already received, to defend the posts, to resist force by force. Besides, there is a law delivered to us by nature; and where

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constituted authorities are dumb, the natural law re-assumes its right. To resist force by force is the law of nature; and therefore, also, the National Guards ought to have used their arms against a troop of plunderers and assassins, who, in contempt of the respect that is due to royalty, and the property of every citizen, dared to violate the asylum of the King.

How dreadful has been to Paris, and how dreadful will be to the whole nation, the consequences of that creed which the enemies of order have implanted in the minds of the National Guards, that they ought not to use their arms against their fellow citizens! But, supposing the admissibility of such a creed, were they citizens who composed this rabble? Or if they had been, from the moment in which they presented themselves as a lawless faction, did they not cease to be citizens? France, ever since the Revolution, or at least the body of the French nation, has been the dupe of false or perverted prin-

principles. What have been the consequences of the guards refusing to fire on the mob? Continual riots, plunders, assassinations and massacres.—Force only can repress and subdue a lawless and unprincipled rabble; and that lawfully-armed power, regiment, or army that refuses to subdue them, is sure of becoming sooner or later the victim of its ill-timed mercy.

On the 21st of June, the King wrote to the Assembly the following letter:

MR. PRESIDENT,

The National Assembly are already informed of the events of yesterday. Paris is, doubtless, in consternation; and all France will hear of them with an astonishment mingled with grief. I was very sensible of the zeal that the Assembly testified for me on that painful occasion. I leave it to their prudence to examine into the causes of that event, the care of weighing each circumstance in it, and of taking
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the necessary measures for maintaining the constitution, and insuring the inviolability and the constitutional liberty of the hereditary representative of the nation.

For my part, nothing shall prevent me, at all times, and under all circumstances, from doing what the duties of the constitution which I have accepted, and the true interest of the French nation exact from me.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Counter-signed)

DURANTHON.

It may naturally be imagined that, immediately after the proceedings of the 20th, the National Assembly would have exerted its utmost power, for the sake of its own character, to bring the authors of them to justice. This, indeed, was attempted by several of the members, but without effect: the moment they began to speak of a crime having been committed, they were silenced by the majority and the tribunes, and accused of calumniating the people.

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Their motions were over-ruled ; their endeavours to recover the much wished for, and long lost energy of the law, were frustrated by the more powerful party, who were determined to acknowledge no superiority or restraint whatever. How ridiculous must appear to every thinking man, the date they so pompously affix to all their public proceedings ! They call this year of crimes, perjuries, massacres and plunder, the fourth of *Liberty* ! If, when a country is said to be free, it is meant only that the *rabble* of that country are allowed an unlimited indulgence of the most wanton barbarities and excesses ; in *that* sense, but I believe in no other, will it be allowed that the French nation is free. They threw down monarchical despotism, to establish democratic tyranny : they banished sense, wisdom, experience and justice from their government, to be under the dominion of folly, caprice, ignorance and injustice. Can any power be more absolute—can any tyranny be more complete, than that of a majority of the Assembly ? What restraint is there on
their

their actions, or what limits to their power? The constitution had, in some instances, given the King the liberty of withholding his sanction from their decrees; but how was he to exercise his delegated authority, without danger to his person or his crown? A prisoner in his own palace, insulted by the National Assembly, surrounded and menaced by a tumultuous and shameless rabble, and deprived of the guards the constitution had given him; what remained with him but the shadow of that power which was his right? Yet has that King, so insulted, so surrounded, and so menaced, on all occasions, alone and unprotected, acted with the same firmness and intrepidity, as if he had had the whole army of France at his command! He has preserved his dignity as a King, his honour as a man, and his religion as a christian, at a period when each of those principles was ridiculed and despised. His courage and resolution have never deserted him in all those many and cruel moments, in which he has been threat-

threatened with instant death : he has suffered with fortitude, and endured with glory ; feeling more for the degradation of his people, than his own danger.

And yet to such a man, and such a King, was even the appearance of justice refused ! The most active criminal, though notoriously known, was neither judged nor accused ; the most insulting answer was sent to the King's letter ; and every crime committed on the 20th escaped unpunished, excepting that the chiefs of the municipality were suspended by the department from their functions.

The news of the 20th, however, had very shortly reached the armies on the frontiers. La Fayette felt deeply the insults that had been offered to his royal master, and the violation of his constitutional rights ; he had sworn to defend the constitution, and therefore could not, as an honourable man, behold these infringements on it in silence. His army
par-

partook of his sentiments, and deputed him to speak at the bar of the National Assembly their indignation. La Fayette was not unconscious of the reception his letter to the legislative body had met with, or of the endeavours of the Jacobins to misrepresent his principles to the people. He knew that he should, by going to Paris, throw himself into the hands of his most inveterate enemies, by whom assassination, for the sake of licentiousness, had been considered and practised as a virtue, and who would not hesitate to enforce their principles by the most atrocious practices ; he knew, also, how much the mob had been enraged against him : but, braving every danger in the performance of what he thought his duty, he arrived at Paris, and presented himself at the bar of the Assembly ; where, with a fortitude which a pure conscience only could inspire, he avowed his letter to the Assembly, spoke the indignation of his army and himself at the treatment the King had experienced on the 20th, and, in the name of every honest

honest man in the kingdom, denounced the popular societies, and particularly the Jacobins, as the fomenters of factions, and prayed the Assembly to abolish them. The patriots had not been sufficiently prepared for his appearance ; their hired multitudes in the tribunes were wanting to drown the voice of justice ; and, almost for the first time, sense, integrity and honour received their triumph. He was heard with attention, applauded, and admitted to the honours of the sitting ; now almost become disgraceful, since the seats that had been originally intended for those who might deserve well of their country, had been defiled by the admission of regicides, plunderers, and assassins. The patriots, however, soon got up, and accused him of having left his army when the frontiers were in the greatest danger, of coming to dictate laws to the Assembly, invade its independencies, and consequently the liberties of the people.

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The people, in the mean time, became soon acquainted with the arrival of La Fayette at Paris ; they assembled in crowds, and the Jacobins took every means in their power to inflame the minds of the populace against him ; and in the evening they had proceeded so far in rooting out every sentiment of favour and attachment, which La Fayette had so well deserved, and once so abundantly received, that he was burnt in effigy, amidst the execrations of the mob. He himself, however, contrary to the expectations of every one, and the wishes of the Jacobins, had the good fortune to escape in safety to his army, though with the regret of having been unable to procure the success of his embassy.

The cry was immediately raised against him in all the departments : he was represented as a second Cromwell, endeavouring to overthrow the constitution, and usurp the crown ; and numerous deputations and petitions were sent to the

National Assembly, denouncing him as a traitor to his country, and demanding that he should be publicly accused and tried. This subject was frequently debated ; but as it was not decided upon till the 8th of August, I shall proceed to relate the principal events that took place at Paris in the mean time.

On the 29th of June, the ministers being at the bar of the Assembly, the minister of justice made the following speech :

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ In answer to the decree which demands information concerning the measures that have been taken,—1st, To cover the capital from the invasion of the enemy,—and 2dly, To repress the disorders of fanaticism, I have to observe, that with respect to the first object, the King requires of the Assembly the levy of forty-two new battalions, to form an army of reserve, not
“ at

“ at Paris, but between Paris and the
 “ enemy, in a second line behind our
 “ army.

“ With regard to the second object, the
 “ tribunals have orders to execute very
 “ strictly the laws which repress or punish
 “ all disturbers of the peace.

“ You have taken measures against the
 “ priests, upon which the opinion of the
 “ King does not entirely accord with
 “ your's. The consent of the King
 “ is a necessary ingredient in the law.
 “ His opinion is as free as that of any of
 “ the members of the legislative body.
 “ We respect his independence.”

The minister at war read, on the same day, the following letter from Marechal Luckner, which that general had written the King, desiring that it might be communicated to the Assembly :—

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“ SIRE,

“SIRE,

“ Called by your Majesty’s choice to
 “ the command of one of the armies of
 “ France ; loaded with honours by you
 “ and the National Assembly, I was en-
 “ deavouring to prove myself worthy of
 “ so much kindness.

“ I am for ever attached to France.
 “ Entirely devoted to service, I knew, I
 “ thought of nothing but my oath to
 “ maintain the constitution ; I was se-
 “ curing the advantages I had gained in
 “ the enemy’s country ;—our successes
 “ would have been greater if I had been
 “ properly assisted.

“ I was thus engaged when the army
 “ were informed of the outrages to which
 “ you had been exposed. Their indig-
 “ nation, Sire, was terrible and sudden,
 “ and the army admire your courage.

“ Sire, we have enemies before us,
 “ let not factions weaken us at home.

(Signed)

“ LUCKNER.”

Supposing that the Jacobins had no other view in their proposal of a camp of 20,000 men under the walls of Paris, than the good of their country and the defence of Paris, and that they acted upon honourable principles, still must they have shewn a want of judgment, of political and military knowledge.—The army of La Fayette was at that time composed only of seventeen or eighteen thousand effective men; that of Luckner, of between twenty-two and twenty-three thousand. Were forty thousand men sufficient to have opposed the armies of Austria and Prussia, had they marched, as it was then supposed they would, towards Flanders? If the armies of the frontiers were *not* sufficient to oppose and prevent the invasion of the enemy (a circumstance which must, at least, have appeared probable from the pretended necessity of defending Paris); ought not the first step taken to have been that of reinforcing the armies and strong places on the frontiers, to have

given them at least the possibility of holding out? But admitting that such a reinforcement was *not* thought necessary (which, however, was not the case), what was to be expected from the collection of twenty thousand men from all the departments, under the walls of Paris? or of what use could such a multitude be there when collected? Could it be imagined, at a period when insubordination was at its height, when the laws had no force, and each individual was under no other restraint but his own will, that such a set of men, when they learnt their own power, would easily quit the uncontrolled pleasures and licentiousness of the capital, to submit themselves to the fatigue of discipline, and the obedience of commanders? Could it be imagined that, under such circumstances, an effective camp of twenty thousand men could, in a short time, if ever, be accomplished? Certainly not. Was a capital ever thought of by a wise legislature as a rendezvous for a collection of unknown, undisciplined men, in-

vited from all the counties, to form an army in the center of riot, disorder, and dissipation? coming without any restriction to age or height, or any agents having been employed in the different departments to examine and enlist them? bringing with them in their minds the germs of confusion, and in their bodies the infections of distemper? What could be the only probable consequence of such a multitude so collected, but the infraction of all laws, an increase of the general confusion, ending in assassinations, massacres, and plunder? Even considering, therefore, the decree for the camp to have originated from a mistaken idea of serving the capital, the King, when he saw that the legislative body had been led into an error of judgment, and that such a camp could not be instituted with any probability of success, was, undoubtedly, bound to refuse his sanction to it. He had a right to refuse his sanction to all decrees whatever presented to him; but it was his duty, as a

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King,

King, consulting the good of his subjects, to refuse it to this.

But supposing that such a camp *could* have been formed, and that such a multitude of men, so collected, *would* have submitted to discipline and subordination; it would have taken a long time, even under the best management, to have rendered them an effective army. Time pressed; and the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of a powerful, well-disciplined and veteran army, was expected. Before he could arrive at Paris, he must have taken all the strong places of consequence on his road. The French regular armies must have been defeated by him, or engaged by the Austrians.

In the general confusion which his arrival at Paris must occasion, when the malcontents would begin to avow themselves by ten thousands, the National Guards refuse to act (which, should the Duke of Brunswick arrive at Paris, I will
ven-

venture to assert will be the case), what could be expected from an army of newly raised recruits, against one inured to service, and flushed with victory ?

Viewing, therefore, the consequence of the decree in *this* light, it still remained the duty of the King to refuse his sanction to it.

But, when he knew from undoubted testimonies and concurrent circumstances, that the real motive for the collection of this multitude in Paris was to assist the infamous projects of the Jacobins, and the majority of the Assembly, in their attempts on his crown and life, and to deprive his only son of the inheritance he was born to, and which had since been secured to him by the constitution ; could any King be bound by stronger or more solemn obligations, to assert and enforce the authority he asserted and enforced ?

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In refusing his sanction to the decree, he usurped no authority that had not been delegated to him; he endeavoured not to extend his prerogatives; he attempted no invasion of the rights, liberty, or independence of the legislative power: yet was this action, lawful in itself, necessary to the safety of the capital, his crown and person, beneficial to the public, just, equitable, wise, and honourable in every respect,—the principal cause of all the insults, persecutions, menaces and injustice he has experienced.

Let us now examine what the King himself proposed to the Assembly after due deliberation and reflection for the safety of the empire, and compare that with the steps they pretended to take for the same purpose.

The King required of the Assembly that an additional army of forty-two battalions, 36,000 men, should be raised immediately; not to form a camp under the walls of Paris,

ris, but as an army of reserve between the frontiers and the capital.

In this proposal, we at once discover wisdom, policy and patriotism. A multitude of men collected together in or near a country town, would not have been subject to the numerous and licentious avocations which the capital would have afforded them ; they would there have more readily submitted themselves to discipline and subordination, than in a spot where the principles of disobedience and revolt were taught and practised with impunity ; and when formed and embodied into an army (which might have been effected much sooner than at Paris), they would have been ready to reinforce the other armies or garrisons as occasion might require. They might have met and opposed the enemy half way ; thereby, at the least, delaying and enfeebling them, instead of waiting till they had got possession of the country, and advanced in full force to Paris ; where the army projected by
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the Jacobins could have been of no other use than in consuming provisions, a further supply of which would be cut off by the enemy.

This proposal of the King, it was, however, thought proper to accept; for the Jacobins had, by this time, found other means by which they might accomplish their infernal purpose, and which, though resulting from the idea of the camp, were not entirely frustrated by the King's refusing his sanction to it: for they had been informed that the rabble from the different departments, under the denomination of Federates, not having waited for the sanction, but considering the decree as valid, had begun their march in great numbers towards the capital*. The National Assembly had decreed, that the camp, proposed by the King, should be formed at

* It was the report in Paris at this time, the beginning of July, that above 100,000 men were marching to the capital, from all parts, to assist their brothers in arms,

at Soissons, about half way between Paris and the north-east frontiers. The anniversary of the federation was approaching; and the Jacobins procured a decree, inviting the federates who could arrive at Paris before the 14th of July, to assist on that solemn occasion; and it was afterwards decreed, that they should wait in Paris till the necessary preparations were made at Soissons for their reception.

During the first and second weeks of July, the federates from the nearest departments arrived in Paris by twenties, thirties and fifties: every thing was prepared for their reception; and every care was taken by the Jacobins and their associates, to make their sojourn at Paris as agreeable and pleasant to them as possible. Beds were prepared for them in the deserted houses of the nobility, feasts were given them in the place of the Bastille, and money was delivered to them by Santerre and others, for the purchase of every species of entertainment. The galleries of the National

tional Assembly and those of the Jacobins, were kept open exclusively for them. The botanic gardens, the museums, and every cabinet of curiosities, were opened, at stated hours, expressly and solely for their admission. In short, every species of the meanest bribery and corruption was practised to attach them to the chiefs of the faction, and enslave their minds to the performance of those horrid purposes for which, though under different pretences, they had been called to Paris.

The anxiety of the Jacobins, however, for the speedy accomplishment of their diabolical designs, induced them to disclose their intentions and wishes to the federates that first arrived, before their minds had been sufficiently degraded to receive them with approbation or without disgust. They did not consider that the inhabitants of the country, bred up apart from scenes of dissipation and licentiousness, and accustomed to honest industry, might, even in a period of crimes and horrors, retain some portion
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of that mild benevolence which the Creator universally bestows, but which had long since been eradicated in themselves: they did not consider that the federates, collected (as they imagined) for worthy purposes, had not been long enough under their tuition to be entirely deaf to every sense of honour and humanity. The Jacobins were impatient; and, before the metal was sufficiently heated, they struck. They made the horrid proposal to the federates, who received it with indignity and disgust*. The federates sent a deputation to the Assembly, with a petition, that they might be immediately sent to Soissons, or be suffered to return home, as they found that they had been called to Paris *for purposes that made them shudder*. The subject of the latter part of the petition, though delivered publicly at the bar of the National Assembly, was never examined into. The federates were informed that, so soon as the preparations for the
camp

* The Marseillois and Bretons were not yet arrived.

camp at Soissons were accomplished, they should be allowed to depart ; but they were not questioned concerning the nature of the proposals that had been made to them, or by whom they were made. Such an enquiry would, to be sure, have been useless ; for the National Assembly were already well informed what the proposals were, and by whom they were made.

If the purposes that made the federates *shudder* had *not* been known and countenanced by the majority of the Assembly, why did they not institute an enquiry concerning them ? When men, who had been invited to Paris to defend it, had accepted the invitation, and when arrived, found that it was intended to employ them in a different manner ; when these men, disdaining the different employment, sent to the Assembly a public declaration that proposals had been made to them, which made them *shudder*, it was the duty of the Assembly to investigate the business severely, and bring the authors of the proposals to
 * justice.

justice. It was natural to suppose that purposes that made these men *shudder*, must have been of an infamous tendency: but even had they been honourable purposes, when they were proved to be different from those for which the federates had been, by a decree of the Assembly, called to Paris, the proposers had acted unconstitutionally and treasonably, by endeavouring to alienate the minds of the federates from the cause in which they had engaged; and, consequently, should have been put in a state of accusation and tried. But it was not the interest of the Assembly or the Jacobins to make the complaint of the federates more public; it had already raised the suspicions and terrors of the quiet and well-principled citizens, and of the few *ci-devant* noblesse who remained in France. The Jacobins, therefore, endeavoured, by every means in their power, to throw a veil over the complaint, and waited for a more favourable opportunity of executing their wishes.

The anniversary of the federation was now very near, and the populace had shewn themselves exceedingly anxious to obtain the reinstatement of their favourite leader M. Petion, who, as I have before observed, had been suspended by the department from his functions. Numerous petitions had been sent to the Assembly by federates and citizens of the different sections, in behalf of their brave and virtuous magistrate, as they called him, and praying that he might be restored time enough to assist at the federation. But as I have already spoken strongly in reprobation of this gentleman's conduct, it is but just that I should make the public acquainted with his defence.

The Petition of M. PETION to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

A decision of the department having banished me from a post, to which I am attached, even on account of its dangers,—to which I am attached, on account of the

services

services I can render to my fellow citizens ; I present myself before you, with a confidence inspired by a conscience without reproach. I demand a severe justice,—I demand it for myself,—I demand it for my persecutors.

I feel not the necessity of justifying myself ; but I feel the imperious necessity of avenging the public cause. It is not in the power of the department to throw the slightest blemish on the reputation of a magistrate, who has never ceased, and will never cease to be faithful to his duties.

If I was only called upon to answer the department, I should remain silent. Long since has the department been judged by the tribunal of opinion.

It is not in this instance alone, that they have declared war against the municipality : that ambitious and usurping body wish to hold it in a state of servile dependence, and restrain it in all its actions ; they wish

that their power alone may be felt incessantly by all the citizens, that they may be conscious of its existence. Tormented by the infatuated wish of governing, they cannot endure the power of opinion that surrounds the municipality.

These hateful and jealous passions explain the conduct they have held on more than one occasion. The present circumstance having appeared to the department extremely favourable, they seized it with eagerness to display the plenitude of their power.

I confess that I am still at a loss to decide upon the most truly scandalous sentence they have passed. I know very well that corrupted papers, sold on all occasions to outrage the Revolution, morality, and justice, had inspired them with the idea of it ;—I know very well that shameful manœuvres and contemptible agents had prepared a petition against the municipality and myself : but these works of corruption
con-

contributed more to our eulogy than to our censure.

I did not think that one of the best actions of my public life,—that which leaves the most consoling reflections in my heart, could become the cause of my persecution.

I ask myself what I have done ? Well ! I have prevented the effusion of blood ; I have prevented the torch of civil war from being lighted up in the capital, which, perhaps, might have incendediated the empire.

Let us now see what the department reproach me with. I have read their accusation ; I trembled with indignation, and my soul rose up against the faithless hands that traced it.

Just and honourable men ! read it, if you can, with calmness,—and judge. It is nothing but a declaration almost entirely false, in which facts are not only pervert-

ed, but in which no trouble has been taken to mention a single circumstance in favour of the accused ; and in which insidious allegations are continually substituted for reason.

Is it thus that the even balances of justice are held ?

I observe, in the first place, that the directory of the department ought not to have interfered, in any manner, with the measures of police and the public orders, which the union of citizens might have required on the 20th of June.

Every thing that respects the police is the essence of the municipal power. The department have the single right of watchfulness and censure : they permit, and afterward control : if they act immediately, if they order, watchfulness exists no longer ; the law is eluded and loses its end.

The

The council-general had submitted its resolution of the 16th of June, to the influence of the directory; I know not why: if I had had the honour of presiding at the council on that day, I should have used every endeavour to prevent an abuse so dangerous in its consequences.

In short, the directory got hold of it, and when they obtain what does not belong to them, it is not to yield up easily what has been given them. They had a conference on the 19th with the administrators of the police and me. Even then it was not certain whether or not the faubourgs would march in arms. They passed a decree in the form of a proclamation, in which they reminded us of general principles concerning armed assemblies, and invited us to an active watchfulness.

It is easy, no doubt, to command in this manner, and it is still more easy to censure measures taken, when the events are passed.

Here the department begin most cunningly to direct a slight reproach to me, because I acquainted them only on the 18th, of a resolution that was passed on the 16th. But, take notice, that it was in an evening sitting that the resolution was passed; that it could not have been expedited till the 17th, and that from the 17th to the 18th was not a long period. This reproach, therefore, can only be regarded as an oratorical precaution to dispose people to listen, with more compliance, to more important facts.

Besides, I am persuaded, and I have good reasons for believing, that the department were informed, even on the moment, of the resolution having been passed.

Moreover, what is very true, is, that they only summoned us before them on the 19th, and that, not in the morning as they advance, but between two and three o'clock.

What

What is not less true, is, that the decree of the department was not posted up till the moment when it could have no effect ; that was on the 20th, at day-break.

What is not less true, is, that the department have not over the people that ascendancy of confidence which favours the action and success of measures ; and, in such case, what does not favour, counteracts.

I pass on to something of a graver nature : the department are not ashamed to say, that I did not give to the commandant general *the necessary orders* for supporting their decree.

I know not what the department mean by *necessary orders* : what I know is, that I wrote to the commandant general, to engage him in the most active watchfulness ; to double every post ; to keep reserves ; to put on foot a very strong force ; to have patrols, as well of cavalry as infantry.

What

What I know, is, that I gave over night orders to the commanders of the battalions of the fauxbourgs, not to collect in arms.

Were these orders ? No one, I believe, can doubt it ; and, observe that they preceded the union of the citizens.

I stopped not there : I desired some of the municipal officers and the administrators of the police, to repair to the different places to speak to the citizens, to enlighten them, and prevent their assembling in arms.

The department are faithless enough to pass over all these facts in silence, and throw on me the odious inculpation of having suffered the groups to increase—why do they not add, *by design* ? They have not loyalty enough to say so openly ; but they have the cowardice to insinuate it.

All the representations of the municipal officers were useless ; and why ? Because the citizens constantly repeated, “ We are
“ not

“ not forming a riot ; the motive which
 “ unites us is well known,—it is pure ;
 “ —we celebrate the anniversary of the *jeu*
 “ *de paume* ;—we are going to present an
 “ address to the National Assembly and
 “ the King ;—the Assembly has received
 “ our brethren ; it has received them
 “ armed ; they have had the honour of
 “ being admitted into the hall :—why
 “ should we be deprived of the same fa-
 “ vour ? ”

What would the whole of the depart-
 ment, under these circumstances, have
 effected ? Could they have shaken the re-
 solution of citizens, who supported their
 actions by the authority, by the example
 of the Assembly itself,—who were fortified
 by the purity of their intentions ? No
 power could have produced that prodigy.

What justice would there have been
 afterwards in repressing these citizens by
 violence ?

What

What imprudence would there not have been in endeavouring to do it? For where was the repressive force that would have acted on that occasion? Where was the force sufficient to restrain that which was putting itself in motion?

What barbarity, in short, would there not have been, in causing blood to be shed on such an occasion?

It is in vain, in such circumstances, to think of vague hypothesis; it is in vain to speak in an abstract and theoretic manner, of the respect due to the law: it is necessary to be present on the spot. The department should put themselves in the place of the mayor, and say candidly what they would have done. Would they, for such an offence, have slaughtered the citizens? Yes? or No? For in the world there were but two means,—reason and force.

The

The citizens, then, were united ; the battalions were preparing to march, with their colours and cannons ; their commanders were at their head.

What would the department have done there ? The municipal body saw but one step to take,—that of giving a prudent direction to so considerable a mass of men : to render their march regular and well ordered, it put them under the colours of the National Guard, and under the command of chiefs armed by the law.

The department make a fine dissertation on this circumstance ; they blame every thing and indicate nothing : they consider this measure as unlawful, injurious to the National Guard, and dangerous : they find no expression strong enough to paint it in its true colours.

Let us proceed from one point ; that is, that the citizens were marching, and that nothing could prevent them. Well !

was

was less inconvenience to be expected from leaving them to themselves, than from arranging them under the watchfulness of the National Guard, who marched with them ? It is here, again, that I must be answered by yes ! or no ! If there was *not* less inconvenience, all the observations of the department signify nothing, and fall of themselves. Now, I defy the department to maintain, that there was more chance for good order by suffering the torrent to proceed by itself, than by directing it.

All this, however, is superfluous ; for the National Guards of the fauxbourgs, and the other citizens, armed in any manner, and without arms, made but one : they were brothers, were concerned in the same sentiment, as well as in the same step.

Shall I answer to the department, when they say that they had not approved this measure which I had proposed to them in a letter

letter signed by the administrators of the police and myself?

What does it signify? Since the irresistible nature of circumstances rendered it a forced one, and that it altered nothing of what was going on.

I go further, and assert that there was no need of the advice or the approbation of the department to authorise the battalions to march : they had not any right to interfere ; to the mayor only belonged that right.

There is one thing, however, which I cannot pass over in silence, and which entirely unmask the principles of the department.

They have the perfidious cunning to assert that the measure was injurious to the National Guard : and how do they prove it? Thus ; I copy their expressions :
 “ This measure tended to fraternise with
 “ the

“ the foldiers of the law, and to unite,
 “ under their colours, men for the moſt
 “ part unknown, and vagabonds, all in
 “ a ſtate of open rebellion ; and among
 “ whom, as the event has ſhewn, were
 “ plunderers and aſſaffins.”

It is thus that the department, with
 much baſeneſs, endeavour to inſinuate
 themſelves into the favour of the National
 Guards, by affecting to take an intereſt in
 their glory : it is thus that they divide
 the citizens from the citizens. They in
 vain endeavour to diſguiſe the contempt
 they have for the indigent and unfortunate
 claſs of ſociety. Can they ſay, with any
 ſincerity, that the greater part of the citi-
 zens united were men unknown, were
 vagabonds, unleſs they chooſe to call
 workmen and honeſt artiſans by thoſe
 names ? Certainly, into ſo immense a
 crowd, there may have ſtolen a few of
 thoſe dangerous men ; but to ſay that the
 majority of the citizens aſſembled were
 ſuch men, is the greateſt inſult.

Can

Can they say, without shame, that there were assassins among them, and that the event has proved it? This infamous assertion calls for vengeance. By what sanguinary action was discovered any assassin? Let them answer directly. Did the event cost a single individual his life? Let them speak. Is it with such temerity, with such boldness, that the citizens are ever to be calumniated and dishonoured? It is by covering them perpetually with opprobriums, by loading them with contempt, that they are brought at last to depravity, and that society is put into a state of eternal warfare.

I shall come, in a moment, to that event.

The department, uniformly insidious in their recital, continue, and say “ that
 “ the mayor did not give himself any trou-
 “ ble about the dangers to which the fed-
 “ tious assembly of the multitude exposed
 “ the capital :—

M

“ That

“ That he knew so little of the state of
 “ the mob, that some persons came to the
 “ commons, where he had remained till
 “ half after two o’clock, to tell him that
 “ the fight was glorious, and that property
 “ was respected ; and yet, at that moment,
 “ the doors of the gardens of the Tuille-
 “ ries had been burst open.”

What signifies that deceitful language ?
I did not give myself any trouble! I desired
 several of my colleagues to go about to the
 different places through which the citizens
 might pass, and particularly to the Tuil-
 leries, which they executed with the
 greatest zeal. I staid, with several others,
 at the commons, as forming a central
 point.

Was that, yes ! or no ! giving myself
 any trouble ? Let me beg of the depart-
 ment to tell me what other precautions
 ought to have been taken ; or what were
 the measures the keenest foresight could
 have thought of for an event of all others
 the

the most unforeseen. Let me ask this of the department, who alone thought proper to calumniate the day of the 20th; who alone, after all, could discover so many faults, so much negligence, so much prevarication in the conduct of the magistrates.

Yes! all the news I received, restored calmness and confidence to my soul. Properties were respected; no citizen had reason to complain*. The fight was glorious and imposing; not to every eye, but to the eyes of a man, who enjoys the enjoyment of others,—who sees with delight that the people, by a knowledge of their own dignity, are rising by degrees to the height of their destiny. I have seen the best citizens speak to me of this fight with tears in their eyes, and transport in their hearts.

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It

* The *King*, it is to be imagined, was considered by M. Pétion as no citizen, but an outlaw.

It is false to say, that, before half after two o'clock, there was any riot, and that doors had been broke open*. The department can only make use of an allegation so inexact, for the purpose of reproaching me with my calmness during the pretended disorders, and aggravate my pretended delay in going to the palace.

They consequently add immediately, that “the mayor did not make his appearance till two hours after the moment in which the royal doors had been forced.” What cunning! What duplicity!

I was at the palace before five o'clock. It was more than half past three when the door of the palace was opened. I should have flown there at the instant, if at the instant I had

* I saw the doors of the garden fronting the Pont Royal broke open by the mob, about eleven o'clock in the morning; and before two, there were at least an hundred thousand persons in the garden, trampling indiscriminately on every part of it.

I had been informed of it. About half past three, or near four, M. Vignier, administrator of the police, who had that moment left the spot, came, and said to me, " All goes well ! You may be perfectly easy !" What was my surprise, when, at half past four, an aid-de-camp came and informed me that the apartments of the palace were full of people, as well as the courts, and that it was impossible to foresee what might happen. I quitted every thing, and repaired immediately to the palace.

This entrance of the people was evidently the effect of one of those unforeseen movements, which are neither the result of reflection or intention. The most absurd and the most calumnious accounts have, in this respect, disfigured every fact, which we cannot too much endeavour to set in its true light,

One part of the column coming out of the National Assembly, filed off in the gar-

den of the Tuilleries, and passed through it* quietly, to gain the Pont Royal. The National Guards, ranged in a line, carried their arms, and uttered every sign of joy to them as they passed, while the other part of that column took its march toward the Carouzel ; so that each proceeded in its own way, without having the same, and previously concerted determinations.

The bearers of the petition were at the head of that part of the column that was in the place de Carouzel. There they had stopped at the royal gate to enter and present the petition to the King. They knocked at the gate,—they expressed some impatience : a municipal officer came out by

* This account of M. Petion's is not true, for they who came into the garden from the Assembly remained in it till they attacked the palace ; excepting only a troop of coalmen, armed with long poles, pointed at the end, who left the garden soon after they had come out of the Assembly. This black troop consisted of from an hundred and and fifty to two hundred men, and a few women.

by the princes' court, joined the citizens, and told them they could not enter in so great a number, and that they ought to send commissaries with the petition. That was agreed on, when suddenly the gate was opened from within; then the torrent rushed in, and overflowed, in an instant, the courts and apartments.

Where was the design in this? Where was there a single moment given to deliberation? Who does not see, on the contrary, a considerable mass of men, which, by its own weight, urges itself on,—leads, and is led by itself? Ought not what passed afterwards in the apartments to open the eyes of the most incredulous? For, at last, what did the citizens do that could give the slightest indication of a plot, of which the idea alone makes one tremble?

It is not a few glasses broken, a few pannels forced in, either by a precipitate entrance, or by the simple pressure of an immense crowd;—it is not a few boards

taken away to facilitate the passage of a cannon, which, with a strange, infatuated impetuosity, they brought up ;—it is not *that*, I say, that can prove any bad intent, any sanguinary designs : I do not by *that* discover the plunderers and assassins of whom the department speak.

When I arrived, I did not discover in the countenances of the people those traits of wildness, indignation and passion, which are the presages of misfortunes. I saw a great number of citizens, anxious to see, pressing rather tumultuously, directed by the spirit of imitation and curiosity. I will not say all that I did to restore tranquillity, to determine the people to arrange themselves peaceably, to conduct themselves with wisdom and dignity ; even my detractors are obliged to do me justice in this instance.

The department say not a word of this conduct : they stop every where, where they perceive innocence. They are silent,
and

and dissemble. Let them tell me then what they would have done on this difficult occasion. Would they have employed force, they who invoke so much respect for the laws and property? Let them explain themselves. Had a single blow been given, it is impossible to calculate the horrors that might have been committed. And was not, therefore, the safety of all, the supreme law before which all others should be silent?

Have the department, in this affair, established themselves as my judges, or my adversaries? Is it equity that has conducted them, or passion that has led them astray? The slightest reflection on the circumstances is sufficient to solve that problem.

The condemnation which they have pronounced against me is become a public scandal: entered in the registers of the municipality, and diffused throughout all France,—presented under the falsest and
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blackest colours, in a decree which can only be regarded as a libel; I demand a redress as public and striking as the offence itself.

The department cannot say they were deceived; they cannot call in their defence the dictates of conscience; they have perverted facts; their malevolent intentions appear in every line of their resolution: if the reasons they give had been plausible, they would have been culpable in pronouncing my suspension;—they ought, therefore, to be punished.

I speak not here of the nullities which strike this work of darkness, of violation of every form. If the Assembly cannot neglect these infractions of law, it is not for me to take advantage of them: it is not upon vices of that nature that I rest my innocence, and that I accuse the department.

Gen-

Gentlemen, if the departments were to be allowed arbitrarily to smite the municipalities, and suspend them as their revenge and passions dictate, France would soon be entirely disorganized. You are not unacquainted with the afflicting struggles that take place every where between the municipalities and the departments. What is the principal cause of these unhappy divisions? I must have the courage to declare it.

The municipalities, chosen immediately by the citizens, are in general animated by that public spirit which is the friend and support of the Revolution: that spirit is wanting in the greater part of the departments. The municipalities wish for liberty with energy: the departments are incessantly endeavouring to fetter it. The municipal authority has something mild and paternal in it; it is the best and most salutary of all: the authority of the departments has something rough and despotic in it; it adapts itself less to localities and
cir-

circumstances. The municipalities are particularly influenced by the spirit of the people : the departments are influenced by the spirit of the court, being in habitual dependence on its ministers. The principle of the superior powers is to govern, and the habit of domination insensibly corrupts men, and renders them imperious.

Legislators, you cannot with too much care watch over this body of men, naturally ambitious, whose power in a free country is continually threatening, if it be not continually confined within its true limits. You cannot, on the contrary, give too much support to those little civic administrations, which, weak and dispersed over the surface of the empire, can not only never alarm liberty, but are even the elements and the most solid basis of it.

How much will you embolden the departments, if the dangerous example which that of Paris has just given should remain unpunished ! For, do not deceive
your-

yourselves in this respect ; the departments are not strangers to one another. There already exists a spirit of imitation : from that spirit of imitation to a general spirit, from thence to a coalition is not far ; and that idea presents more than one danger to the public good.

I speak not of the decision of the King. The department had done him a good office in suspending me : the King renders them one, in his turn, by coming to their support. The department, in all their actions, have always shewn so perfect an agreement with the views of the court, that this concert of wishes on the occasion has nothing surprising in it, and I can only think myself honoured with *that* decision.

Permit me, Gentlemen, to express, in the midst of you, a sentiment which I cannot restrain ; an honest man still finds consolations in the bottom of his heart : then even when, abandoned by every thing that is dear to him, by his friends misled,
by

by a public deceived, he has alone to struggle against combined persecutions. A day, cries he, in the bitterness of his soul,—a day will come, in which they will know me, in which they will be ashamed of having persecuted me. That idea, that charm of hope, softens his sufferings, and he yields up his life, forgiving his enemies.

But how sweet is it for him to see all that he loves,—to see his fellow citizens surround him with their attachment, their esteem, their confidence, and every sentiment that makes the happiness of life !—To see them interest themselves for him, more than he himself for himself ;—to see his colleagues soliciting the same fate as a favour, knowing no other disgrace than his, and priding themselves in the idea of partaking of it.

You alone, Gentlemen, can add to so many precious testimonies of regard : you, the representatives of a great people ; you, whose august mission impresses so imposing
a cha-

a character on all your actions. Have in this affair no other clemency than justice. Punish me, if I am culpable; revenge me, if I am innocent. I attend, with a respectful confidence, the solemn decree which you are about to pass.

(Signed) PETION.

The discerning reader will, from the above letter, form a much more adequate idea of the real character of M. Petion, than he could have done from the most striking picture an adversary could have drawn of him. Those superficial arguments,—those shadows of reasoning, which have but a too fatal influence over the populace of France at this moment, will shrink into their native nothing, when weighed by the experience of a politician, or the penetration of a philosopher. I did not think it worth while to introduce the accusations brought against M. Petion by the department, because they were no other than the regular consequence of such

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sentiments as would necessarily arise in the bosom of any one at all acquainted with the government of a nation, or the duty of a magistrate, after reading an impartial detail of his conduct, or rather of his inaction. There are, however, some parts of M. Petion's petition to the National Assembly, which, I think, I ought not to let pass by without a little animadversion. I shall totally disregard every flowery expression of sentiment, and every little prattle about conscience, with which letters and petitions of this kind are so constantly puffed up, and confine myself solely to such of his remarks as relate to truth, policy, or law.

His first assertion was, that it was not in the power of the department to throw the slightest blemish on the reputation of a magistrate(himself), who had never ceased, and would never cease to be faithful to his duties.

This

This assertion will shortly be proved true or false, by a further examination of his conduct.

He next observed, that the department had long since been judged by the tribunal of opinion.

When it is considered that there was but one set of men in France who dared publicly avow their opinions, and that that set of men was the rabble, who were immediately under the influence of the mayor; it will not be a subject of wonder, that the department, who strove to execute the laws, should not only be judged but condemned by this awful tribunal, M. Petion himself raised against them.

But the most important point on which he rested his defence, was his having spared the effusion of blood.

A discussion concerning the weight this part of his conduct ought to have had in

his acquittal, will necessarily involve argument of much delicacy and difficulty. It must be allowed, that very strong reasons, and very urgent necessity alone can justify the effusion of blood : but, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that these very strong reasons, and this very urgent necessity, may sometimes exist. In every well governed country, the laws not only authorise, but command a punishment adequate to the offences of the guilty. Laws are made for the benefit and protection of the nation in general. Whoever sins against those laws, if suffered to go unpunished, lessens the benefit and safety which the nation should derive from them. The more easily the guilty can escape, the more the number of the guilty will increase, and, consequently, the more the safety of the nation will be endangered. It is, therefore, the duty of every legislature to strike at crimes in their infancy, and not to wait till they become too powerful for resistance or suppression. It is well known, that no country can support an army capable

pable of repressing an universal insurrection of the rabble : but as great mobs are seldom collected in an instant, for unlawful purposes, they ought to be repressed in the earliest periods of their formation. A small party of ill-inclined people, will, if it meet with no resistance, accumulate by degrees, like a snow-ball rolling down a high mountain, till it become so powerful a body as to bear down all before it ; and no nation is so little acquainted with the nature of mobs, as to be unconscious of the fatal and unavoidable consequences of their obtaining a superiority of power. All large parties of rabble adopt some ostensible principle of conduct,—some watch-word for their actions, which serve them as excuses for their first violences : one violence committed with impunity begets another ; resistance begets anger ; anger, revenge ; revenge begets cruelties, assassinations and massacres. Added to this, mobs are, in general, composed of men who earn their daily subsistence by their daily labour : having ceased to be industrious,

trious, they cease to receive the wages of industry ; they must eat and drink ; they cannot purchase ;—plunder, therefore, affords them the easiest and only means of satisfying their wants, and as their numbers are great, their plunder must be extensive : no law, no force restrains them, and, therefore, they seldom pause in their excesses, till they have waded through every species of horrors, enormities and bloodshed, that can disgrace humanity.—Innocence finds no protection ; and thousands are sacrificed to the lust of plunder, infatuation, or revenge.

When such unlimited crimes, and such uncontrollable excesses are known to be the general and almost inevitable consequences of the mob's obtaining power, that magistrate is in the highest degree culpable, who refuses to exercise the greatest lawful severity, where other means fail, to suppress every appearance of, or tendency to riot, in its infancy. It would be unfair to judge of actions from their
 acci-

accidental consequences : but when fatal consequences that might not only have been foreseen and expected, but that were, according to the nature of things, the necessary and sure result of imprudent actions, have taken place, it cannot be unjust to adduce such consequences in judgment against the cause that produced them.

M. Petion rests the principal point of his defence, on his having prevented the effusion of blood. The dreadful and numerous massacres that took place on the succeeding days of the 10th of August, and 2d of September, prove how little weight this assertion should have had in his acquittal. Had the National Guards been properly instructed, and had they been ordered to fire on the mob, and done so on the 20th of June, it is more than probable, nay, almost certain, that the horrid cruelties and murders committed on the 10th of August, and 2d of September, would not have taken place. Blood might have been shed; but that effusion would

have purchased the lives of the many thousands of honour, principles and talents, who have since fallen a sacrifice to the increased power of the mob. Authority would have returned to its proper source; and regularly confined to its lawful limits, would not have divided into so many petty streams, corrupted by, and corrupting every thing they met. Some of the lawless and unprincipled rabble might have fallen, but they would have fallen under the sword of the law, and justice would have directed the blow. The most audacious plunders, the most savage and unparalleled massacres, the most brutal and cowardly assassinations, and the most infamous perjuries might have been prevented: the King might have remained the head of a constitution, unviolated on his part; and France might not yet have made herself the most contemptible and guilty country in the world.

Let not, therefore, M. Petion say, that he has prevented the effusion of blood.—It is he who has been the cause, perhaps
not

not only indirectly, of all the cruelties that have dishonoured France. It is true, that he made this assertion before the events of the 10th of August and 2d of September had taken place ; but such events were looked forward to as the certain consequences of the triumph the mob had gained on the 20th of June. When an armed mob unlawfully assemble, and are suffered, under the eyes of the magistrates, to commit outrages with impunity, although they should disperse in the evening without having committed murder,—no credit can be given to any magistrate who was a witness to such enormities, for having prevented the effusion of blood, unless he can decidedly prove that he has, by more lenient means, effectually subdued them, and prevented their re-assembling in the same manner ; and, at the same time, reserved to himself the power of suppressing them, should they again attempt to disturb the public peace. So far from doing any thing of this kind, M. Petion did every thing in his power to establish the

triumph of the mob over the law, and the lawfully-armed force. He flattered their opinions, their wishes, and their actions ; and, in order effectually to prevent their meeting with any opposition in the commission of their intended crimes from the military power, he selected the most notoriously factious from the lawful army, and placed them with the lawless rabble ; thereby endeavouring to legalize a violation of the constitution, and converting the protectors of the law into the abettors, at least, of tumultuous riots. When the day was over, he had the audacity to tell the rabble who had committed so many violences, that they had acted with dignity, and proved that they were free ; thus encouraging their presumption, and confirming their superiority. That Mr. Petion was not the cause of bloodshed on that day, must be allowed, because no blood was shed ; but he did worse than he could have done had he been the cause of the death of thousands, for he gave up all power and authority into the hands of an

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unprincipled rabble, who were soon to be assisted and abetted in the execution of their avowed determination of extensive slaughter, by thousands as unprincipled as themselves, and to whose excesses there no longer remained any possibility of restraint, but their own wills. Can that magistrate, therefore, be allowed the credit of having prevented the effusion of blood, who transferred all power into the hands of avowed plunderers and assassins? It is not the action of a day, or its immediate consequence, that can establish the character of any public functioner. That man is unfit for any share of government, who acts, on all occasions, from the impulse of the moment, and cannot look forward to the future, examine causes with their effects, weigh probabilities with possibilities, and judge more from resulting consequences than plausible beginnings;—whose mind cannot pierce through the superficial veil of appearances, and penetrate into intrinsic merit; and lastly, who has not courage enough to sacrifice the momentary

mentary favour of the populace for their lasting good.

There are so many passages in M. Petion's petition to the Assembly, that must immediately furnish the discerning reader with the strongest accusations against him, that it is unnecessary to dwell longer on the subject; and, indeed, the whole of the petition will give a clearer insight into his character and principles, than any picture that could be drawn of them. I shall, therefore, only observe, that the National Assembly, having heard the resolutions of its committee on the subject of M. Petion's suspension, restored him to his functions, on Friday, the 13th of July, amidst the acclamations of the federates and the populace.

The Champ de Mars, where the anniversaries of the federation are celebrated, is a large plain, about a mile in circumference. It is bounded on one end by the Seine, on the other by the Ecole Militaire, and

and on each side by avenues of trees.— Immense mounds of earth have been thrown up all around the plain for the convenience of the citizens; and as these mounds slope gradually toward the plain, every person there placed has a distinct view of every thing passing in it. In the center of the plain is raised the Altar of Liberty, on the top of which are four vases for frankincense. On the last anniversary, a number of tents, erected at equal distances on the mounds, and ornamented with national ribbons, formed a large and picturesque circle upon their superior extremity. A great marquisé was erected on the east side of the altar, on the mounds, for the reception of the King and the National Assembly, and another corresponding with it on the west, for the civil officers. A great number of federates had been expected from the different departments to attend the celebration of this fête; and, in consequence of this expectation, a large circle of poplars, eighty-three in number, was planted around the plain,

plain, at a little distance from the mounds, under which they were to have arranged themselves. From each poplar was suspended a large streamer of three colours, red, white and blue, bearing on it the name of the department, as a direction for the respective rendezvous. This arrangement, however, was rendered useless by the small number of federates who had arrived before the 14th, and which number not exceeding fifteen hundred, divided by eighty-three, would have made a shew very little corresponding with the wishes of the Jacobin party.

On the south side of the altar, and near the Ecole Militaire, in one of the departments of which were the King, Queen, and Court, was erected a pyramid; on one side of which was painted the following inscription :

“ Tremble tyrants,—we rise up to
 “ destroy you !”

And

And on the other—

“ To the memory of the citizens who
 “ have died on the frontiers in defence
 “ of their country.”

On the north side of the altar was planted a tree, from which were suspended the arms of the nobility, and those of the courts inimical to France, emblazoned on paper. The tree was furrounded by a large pile of dry wood; to which it was intended that the King, the President of the National Assembly, and the Mayor should set fire.

On the outside of the mounds, near the river, were planted fifty-two pieces of cannon, which occasionally, during the day, fired three rounds each.

The King, Queen, and all the Court went early in the morning to the Ecole Militaire, and placed themselves in a balcony which commanded a full view of the
 Champ

Champ de Mars, where they remained till near six o'clock in the evening. The rails of the balcony were covered with crimson velvet ; and this trifling arrangement, it will scarcely be believed, was considered as so presuming a mark of superior dignity, and excited so much the indignation of some of the populace assembled to see the fight, that it was a frequent subject of discussion during the day, whether or not it should be ordered to be taken away : and, during these frequent discussions, the most illiberal and indecent remarks were made on the pride, the dignity, and the delicacy of the King and Queen, for the entertainment of the surrounding crowd.

The altar was decorated with occasional paintings, very finely executed, and emblematic of the necessary union of law, prudence and courage ; and of the various other virtues, with which it was pretended to wish the people might be inspired.

It

It was intended that the regular procession of all the troops, the federates, and the pikemen, from the different faux-bourgs, should take place early in the morning, and that the oath should be taken at noon precisely ; and books were printed to regulate the order of the march. But so total was the want of discipline and subordination, and such difficulties and disputes arose concerning the arrangement of the different parties, that the first battalion did not enter the Champ de Mars till three o'clock, and the procession was not ended at six, about which time the oath was taken.

A deputation of members from the National Assembly, attended by a great body of the people, had, in the morning, placed the first stone of the statue of liberty, intended to be erected on the ruins of the Bastile.

About six o'clock, the King left the Ecole Militaire, and proceeded to the altar,
where

where he and the National Assembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the constitution. The King was then desired to set fire to the tree of feodality, which he refused to do, and returned to the Ecole Militaire, amidst the cries of “ *Vive la Na-*
“ *tion ! Vive le coté gauche de l’Assemblée*
“ *Nationale ! Vivent les bons Députés !*
“ *Vive Petion ! Vivent les Jacobins ! Abas*
“ *le Département ! A bas le Veto ! A bas La*
“ *Fayette !*”

The tree was immediately fired ; and as the arms caught the flame and blazed, the shouts of triumph resounded on all sides.

There was not, during the whole day, the least appearance of order or regularity. The troops and the people were confusedly mingled with each other on the plain ; and the latter, being no longer under any restraint whatever, crowded about, and ascended the altar in the greatest confusion, so that nothing was heard or seen but by those immediately in or around it ; and
the

the oath was taken without the knowledge of almost the whole multitude, who were supposed to join in it.

The concourse of people, assembled on this occasion, was immense : I suppose there were, in the whole, about four hundred thousand souls ; although some of the French papers asserted that there was that number of men in arms, and added an equal number of spectators.

The guards whom the constitution had allowed to the King, but whom (as I have before observed) the National Assembly had thought proper to dismiss from his service, under a pretence that they were too much attached to their royal master, had, since their dismissal, been quartered, or rather confined, in the Ecole Militaire ; for, being suspected of aristocracy, it was dangerous for them to stir out. A thousand ridiculous accusations were adduced against the executive power, for having thanked them for their former service, and having

continued, and (as is was said) increased their pay to them, after they had been dismissed by the legislative body. As the Jacobins were always at a loss for any solid ground of accusation against the King, they endeavoured to supply that loss by inventing the most absurd and ill-founded arguments of his treason. To be sure, they were well acquainted with the nature of the tools they intended to employ for their purposes, and knew that the populace would never stop to examine the probability or possibility of any circumstances alleged against the King. They found that it was sufficient for them to *say* that Louis the Sixteenth had been guilty of perfidy, perjury and treachery, and that these assertions would be taken for facts, without any scrutiny into the particulars on which they were founded. They knew that it was sufficient for them *to assert* that the King intended to do such and such things, to induce the multitude to believe that he actually had such intentions. In consequence, the most ridiculous reports were

were spread, concerning the King's supporting the guards in the Ecole Militaire, all of which were swallowed with avidity by the populace. Some gave out that arms, ammunition and artillery, had been privately introduced and concealed there: others, that the guards had, for some time previous to the anniversary of the federation, been employed in digging a subterraneous passage, and forming a mine under the altar, with the intent of blowing up the National Assembly, at the moment they were taking the oath. Nor did any of the numerous propagated reports of the same nature, however improbable or impossible, fail of having some weight with the deluded multitude: they served continually to keep alive the indignation of the mob against the King; and had, at last, obtained such influence, that it was thought necessary, in order to remove the fears of the people, to send the guards away from Paris a few days previous to the federation, and have the Ecole Militaire thoroughly examined.

Such were the meannesses to which the Jacobins incessantly had recourse, to palliate actions they had no right, or lawful reason to commit,—and to facilitate the means of leaving the King totally unguarded. They first invented reports,—inflamed the minds of the populace with fabricated accounts of intended treachery,—and then adopted the influence of such reports, as an excuse for their unlawful and infamous proceedings.

Can there be a stronger proof of the innocence of the King, than the necessity his enemies were under of having recourse to falsehoods, and malicious imputations of perfidy? The Constituent Assembly had established laws,—it had prescribed limits to the power of the hereditary representative of the nation; but, at the same time, it had given him a controlling power, which he had a right and was bound to exercise. If he had violated, or attempted the violation of any law,—if he had stretched, or attempted to stretch his
power

power beyond the limits prescribed by the Constituent Assembly,—if he had exerted a controlling power where he had no right to do so,—such crimes must, in their particular instances, have been notoriously visible, might have been accurately ascertained, and would have been capable of substantial proof: and it may be readily supposed, that no such crimes, had they actually had existence, would have escaped the immediate denunciation of the Jacobins; and yet, no such crimes have ever been particularized. Vague and desultory exclamations have been raised against him; he has been accused, in general terms, of perfidy and treachery: but the insulated circumstances have never been ascertained, except by insidious reports, and malicious suppositions.

It may be some alleviation to the distresses of this unfortunate and persecuted Monarch, to reflect, that the sensible part of the world will never be the dupes to general assertions. They will act with de-

liberation,—weigh, with calmness and candour, every alleged imputation,—examine minutely into the probable causes of every accusation,—by the rules of equity and justice establish its validity,—and suspend their judgment of the King, until the proofs of his crimes have been fully ascertained.

Whenever the armies met with any check or repulse from the enemy, the want of success was immediately imputed to the treachery of the executive power. It was not to be imagined, that an army, fighting under the cap of liberty, however insubordinate, could be defeated, but by the perfidy of the King; while the trifling successes they occasionally gained, were ascribed to the courage and intrepidity of men, rendered invincible by their love of freedom.

An assurance had been industriously circulated by the patriots, as an encouragement to the army, that, so soon as the standard of liberty should be erected on the
ene-

enemy's territory, thousands would immediately flock to it, and an universal insurrection of the inhabitants take place in favour of the French. Luckner invaded the enemy's country; he had taken a few small towns; but the much talked-of assistance and insurrection not having taken place, and the formidable armies of Austria and Prussia threatening an immediate invasion of the frontiers on the other side, he was called back. A cry of indignation was immediately raised against the executive power; its treason was now thoroughly ascertained; it had stopped the army in the midst of conquest; and it may be supposed, that a circumstance of this kind, heightened by the exaggerations of the Jacobins, could not fail of irritating the unthinking multitude against the King,—although, to every reasonable man, the treachery in not suffering an army to expend its time and force in useless invasions of an enemy's country, at a period when it was urgently wanted to protect its own, will not be so evidently apparent.

A great part of the sitting of the 15th of July, was taken up in hearing petitions against the executive power, and praying for the dethroning of the King : but all of them were in the usual stile of general declamation, asserting every thing, but proving nothing. They were, however, according to the sentence of the tribunal, which, at this time, sat in judgment over Louis the Sixteenth, sufficiently indicative of his treason ; although it was impossible for any impartial and disinterested person, condescending with candour upon facts, and who was not, like the multitude, duped by every insidious report, to ascertain the least ground of accusation against the hereditary representative of the nation.

The King's ministers, having been perpetually harassed and interrupted in the prosecution of their respective duties, by being called, on the most trivial occasions, before the National Assembly, to answer to every frivolous demand of information
that

that was incessantly required of them ; and finding that it was impossible for them to transact business, so as in any way to be serviceable to the country and do honour to themselves, had given in their resignation. The choice of a ministry is not the act of a moment, even in a country abounding with men of talents, honour and reputation, and where factions run not so high as to make it necessary for a monarch to endeavour to conciliate the wishes of every party, so far as such a conciliation may be productive of public benefit ; and, where many would be ambitious of the honour of composing a part of the ministry, from the opportunity they would have of promoting the general good. But at this time, France was so rent by internal divisions, so sacrificed to contending factions, and the situation of a minister had become so precarious and humiliating, that none of the few men of honour and talents then left in the country, would willingly accept the office. They only at the head of factions offered, and them the King
had

had lately but too feelingly proved it was fatal to employ. Under these trying circumstances, the King found himself obliged to continue the ministers in their employment, after they had resigned, until he should have it in his power to make a prudent choice. This was adduced as another instance of his treachery. It was assiduously represented to the people, that this resignation was a planned scheme to obviate the responsibility of ministers;—that the court had designedly withdrawn its agents from the possibility of inculpation, that it might carry its treasonable intentions into execution, with greater security.

“ Is it possible,” exclaimed the Patriots,
 “ that the National Assembly do not see
 “ that we have no longer any responsible
 “ agents? Ought they to suffer us only
 “ to have ministers who have given in
 “ their resignation? Who is to be an-
 “ swerable for events? What will the
 “ ministers say to you when interrogated?
 “ They

“ They will tell you, that since such a
 “ time they have given in their resigna-
 “ tion, and that they can be answerable
 “ for nothing; that it is not their fault
 “ if the King has not supplied their place.
 “ Weigh then, legislators, all these incon-
 “ veniencies—you, who wish to save the
 “ country, and who ought to punish *every*
 “ conspirator !”

It is generally supposed, that a minister
 is employed for the public service, and that,
 from the importance of his situation, and
 the variety and urgency of his business, his
 time must necessarily be precious; and this,
 even at a period when his country is not
 subject to extraordinary convulsions. —
 When the situation of France required the
 most immediate dispatch of business, and
 the whole day was insufficient for the oc-
 cupations of the ministers, they have,
 upon the most frivolous pretences, been
 called before the Assembly, and kept wait-
 ing, for hours together, at the bar, un-
 til it suited the dignity or caprice of the
 pre-

président to speak to them, or hear them speak. They have, if not of the Jacobin faction, been treated with the greatest ignominy and contempt,—interrupted on the most important occasions,—and questioned, or rather baited by individuals, although the law forbade any, excepting the president, to address them: they have been obliged to reveal measures, the publicity of which endangered their success; or, upon refusal, have been denounced as traitors: they have been forced to submit to the direction of the Assembly, the exercise of that power they held on their own responsibility: subject to the most virulent language, and scurrilous abuse, they have, on most occasions, resembled more the abject slaves of a despotic multitude, than the free and independent servants of a nation.

But to return to the narrative:—

All the obstacles to the accomplishment of the purposes of the Jacobins were not yet

yet removed. Several regiments of the line still remained in Paris, and from strong presumptions, it was supposed that they could not be brought over to second the intentions of the factious. These troops had not, on the day of the federation, and before, shewn such alacrity in receiving and uniting with the federates, as the National Guards had done: they had, besides, carried their arms, as they passed under the balcony in which the King and Queen were, and had not insulted them with the cries of *Vive la Nation! Vivent les Sans-culottes! Vive Pétion, &c.* On these and other such accounts, they had rendered themselves obnoxious to the patriots; it was, therefore, necessary to procure their absence. Accordingly, on the 15th of July, it was proposed in the Assembly, that the executive power should be obliged to remove all the troops of the line from Paris, and from within thirty thousand toises of the capital, in the course of three days. It was in vain that several of the members opposed the motion; it

was

was in vain that M. Girardin had courage enough to speak the truth to the Assembly, and impute to the proposers their real motives: the motion was immediately carried, and the decree was passed.

When the time appointed for their departure arrived, the troops of the line refused to march until they were paid six months arrears that were due to them.—This refusal threatened important consequences; the Boulevards of the invalids exhibited, during the whole day, a scene of indiscipline and confusion. Every measure, however, was immediately taken to pacify, and induce them to depart in peace. They were paid, and sent away.

The federates, on the contrary, continued to arrive from all parts, and immediately appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, denouncing vengeance against the King and the Aristocracy, and asserting their own courage and determination to die in the defence of the constitution. How-
ever

ever absurd,—however treasonable and unconstitutional, their speeches were always received with the greatest applause; the honourable mention of them was decreed, and they themselves were admitted to the honours of the fitting. The extravagance of their oratorical declamations,—their pompous professions of courage, and their ridiculous denunciations against Kings in general, were well adapted to the infatuation of the times. The speech of the federates from the department of Puy-de-Dôme, will serve as a specimen of the numerous effusions of fancy, with which the legislative power was continually entertained at this period.

The orator observed to the Assembly,—
 “ We do not announce to you that we
 “ will conquer, or that we will perish;
 “ but we swear to return triumphant, and
 “ to crush under our feet those crowned
 “ monsters, who, not being even men,
 “ have thought themselves Gods. Eh!
 “ Legif-

“ Legislators,—if the Gods acted like the
 “ Despots, we would fight the Gods !”

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that this speech was received with reiterated bursts of acclamation and applause.

It is in vain to attempt to reason on the many instances of the most savage barbarity that have taken place in Paris : but surely, courage and premeditated cruelty must ever be incompatible. I should be very much disinclined to set down them as men of courage, who can delight in, and sport with the tortures of their fellow creatures. Unfortunately for the credit of the federates, their words and actions have very seldom agreed. Their courage, as yet, remains to be proved : and the following circumstance, to which I was myself a feeling witness, and which afforded them the first opportunity of shedding blood, will not, I believe, contribute much to establish it.

M. Du-

M. Dupremenil, a gentleman well known in the literary world, and famous for his oratorical abilities, was one afternoon walking on the terrace of the Feuillans. He was one of the many whom the Jacobins had marked as Aristocrats. He was soon discovered by some of the federates, one of whom exclaimed, “ there “ is Dupremenil ! ” They then went to him, and asked him if he were not Dupremenil ; to which he having answered that was his name, they immediately surrounded, stripped him, and hurried him towards the Palais Royal, with the intention of executing him instantaneously. Three or four of the National Grenadiers had endeavoured to protect him from the fury of the federates and the mob, who were soon collected by the cries of “ Aristocrat ! à la lanterne ! &c.” and had succeeded so far as to get close to him : they were, however, incapable of resisting the impulse of the torrent, and were carried with him through the front gates of the palace ; while the federates took every

opportunity of thrusting at Dupremenil with their swords, under the arms of the grenadiers endeavouring in vain to defend him.

M. Dupremenil had already received several wounds, when they were passing through the second court of the palace, where were stationed about fifty of the National Guards. The grenadiers called to them for assistance;—some of them advanced, and, looking at the mob, observed they were not enough, and declined interfering. The grenadiers, however, did not desist in their endeavours to rescue this unfortunate gentleman, though in opposition to a mob, by this time consisting of near four thousand persons. They were hurried about from side to side, still persisting in their resolution not to give him up to the brutal fury of the populace, and begging that they might be permitted to take him to a guard-house, where he might be secured till he should be lawfully tried for any crimes he might have committed.

The

The federates replied, they knew him to be an Aristocrat,—that he had just returned from Coblantz, and was an enemy to liberty and the people, and insisted upon his being given up to them; and this demand they enforced by cutting and thrusting at him, whenever he got within their reach. In this dreadful situation, in vain endeavouring to prove his innocence,—he expected every moment to be his last; when, accidentally, by the pressure of the mob, he was forced near a narrow passage, which led from the palace into an adjoining street. Covered with blood and wounds, but still assisted by the brave grenadiers, he had just strength enough to crawl along the passage. Fortunately for him, M. Jounneau, a member of the National Assembly, happened to be coming into the palace at the same moment, by the same passage. He no sooner saw Dupreminil, than he opposed himself to the mob at the entrance:—he announced his character as a deputy,—told them that he knew nothing of the person they were pursuing, but that seeing a hu-

man being naked, and mangled in the most shocking manner, he was resolved that they should pursue him no further without passing over his dead body. One of the rabble presented a pike at M. Jounneau, and threatened to stab him with it, if he would not immediately withdraw. M. Jounneau, however, with the greatest intrepidity, maintained his post,—ordered the federates and rabble, in the name of the law, to desist,—and restrained them until one of the grenadiers returning, informed him that they had conveyed M. Dupremenil to the treasury.

M. Jounneau was the gentleman whom, some weeks before, the National Assembly had sent to the Abbaye for three days, in consequence of a dispute that had happened between him and M. Grangeneuve, another member; the circumstances of which were what I shall concisely relate.

These two gentlemen having differed in their political opinions, and the dispute
having

having become very warm, M. Grangeneuve made use of such language as M. Jounneau thought he ought not to submit to as a man of honour; he, consequently, sent a challenge to M. Grangeneuve, which the latter declined accepting. They afterwards met accidentally in the street, when M. Jounneau accused M. Grangeneuve of a want of courage, in refusing satisfaction to a gentleman he had insulted. M. Grangeneuve applied to M. Jounneau the most opprobrious epithet in the French language, and persisted in refusing to accept the challenge. In the evening, M. Jounneau observing M. Grangeneuve sitting in the Palais Royal, with a party of friends, called him aside, and insisted on his making an apology, which being refused, he caned him severely. M. Grangeneuve immediately cried out, *à l'assassin!* *à l'assassin!* — This cry in a moment brought a crowd about them; they were surrounded and parted; and M. Grangeneuve was conducted home, very sore with the beating he had received.

The affair was the next day introduced to the legislative power, by one of the patriotic members, who ascended the tribune, and began his speech by observing : “ Gentlemen, a member of the National Assembly, a patriot, M. Grangeneuve, has been assassinated.” “ Is he dead ?” exclaimed several members. “ No ! he is not dead,” replied the orator ; “ but it was not for want of such intentions in the assassin.” He then proceeded, in the same embellished style, to give his account of the business, and dwelt particularly on the well known patriotism of M. Grangeneuve, and the aristocratic principles of M. Jounneau. M. Jounneau replied by a simple narration of facts : the cause was heard at length, witnesses were called, and it was at last decreed, that M. Jounneau should be confined for three days in the Abbaye ; which punishment, however, was not to prevent M. Grangeneuve from instituting a regular prosecution against him in the criminal court, which he afterwards did.

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The argument that seemed to have the principal weight with the Assembly, was that of one of the members, who observed (respecting the challenge) that such ridiculous ideas of honour bore too strong a feature of the ancient aristocracy, and the presumptuous principles of gentlemanship, to be suffered to exist unpunished in an age of liberty and equality.

Such was the partiality pursued in this business, and such were the endeavours of the Jacobins on all, even the most trivial occasions, to irritate the people against every one who was not violent on their side, that in all the patriotic papers and accounts of the affair, it was prefaced by, *The assassination committed by M. Jounneau, an Aristocratic member, against M. Grange-neuve, a Patriotic member of the National Assembly.*

It was, however, fortunate for M. Duprenil, that M. Jounneau retained the true principles of honour, courage and ge-

nerosity ; or, if they will have it so, the true principles of aristocracy. To assist a falling man is an exercise of virtue so very rarely practised at this moment in France, and indeed every other species of moral and religious duty has been so entirely sapped to its foundations and exploded, that they have been obliged to create ideal virtues more reconcileable to their debased natures, and under the denomination of which they can reduce plunder, persecution and massacre.

When those solid principles of virtue which we originally derived from heaven, and which the reason of man has ever since acknowledged to be the only sure foundations for happiness to individuals, or states, are once deviated from, and fictitious and unnatural ideas are adopted in their stead, as the basis of moral or civil government, the superstructure must ever be weak and unstable : for, being founded only on the maxims of degenerated opinion, it is liable to destruction from the influence of con-

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troverſy, the prevalence of contrary argument, and the conviction of error.—Whereas a government, founded on the immutable laws of nature, undefiled by ſophiſtical deductions, concentrates the opinions of honeſt, and the aſſiſtance of worthy men, and thereby eſtabliſhes its ſtrength; and, although it may not at all times be able to ſilence the buzzing of intereſted cavillers, it offers ſo ſtrong a rampart againſt the attacks of deſigning men, that, like the Ephemeron, they flutter out their day, and vaniſh with the ſun that gave them birth.

Under every government, however pure, there will always be found men, who, from the effects of diſappointed ambition, the deſpair of making themſelves known by honourable purſuits, or perhaps from a contracted reſtleſſneſs in their diſpoſition, and their diſguſt at ſeeing others happy and contented, will attempt to excite confuſion, diſorder and inſurrection. Mankind, in general, are anxious for novelty; they
will

will not so eagerly attend to doctrines, which inform them of nothing but what they knew before ; and, therefore, honest men, whose principles tend chiefly to convince the people of the happiness they enjoy under a well-constructed government, are not attended to with that avidity of curiosity, because the happiness that is felt needs no advocate. But an important discovery, a newly broached system, an assertion that the government is faulty, that the people are unhappy, or that they ought to *think* themselves so from the nature of their situation, are circumstances that necessarily must excite curiosity, rouse the people to a spirit of enquiry, and thereby render the authors of them notorious.

It is to this weakness in our natures, this love of novelty, in whatever shape it may present itself, that the disturbers of public tranquillity so basely have recourse. They endeavour to alienate the minds of the people from the contemplation of real good,

good, to fix them on the fanciful imagination of an ideal better : they endeavour to divert the grateful attention from the body of the tree bearing abundance of good fruit, and point out only a branch accidentally barren or decayed. Observations on the defects of individuals or governments are much more readily acknowledged as just, and more eagerly sought after, than observations on their beauties and perfections ; and hence it is, that so many writers find their account in slander and malevolence. But acting upon such principles, they think some palliation or excuse necessary to veil the original cause of their proceedings : and, as no false conclusions can be deduced from true maxims, they substitute pompous and high sounding phrases, subject to controversy and doubt, for axioms to which the mind would at first sight assent ; and, consequently, their arguments are resolved into the perverted definitions of sophistry, instead of the regular and uniform propositions and corollaries of undeniable demonstration.

In

In order to ascertain what men are, or ought to be,—what are their prerogatives and natural rights, we must consider the nature of that Being whose word created them, the purposes for which he created them, the affections he implanted in their minds, and the rules by which he himself governs them, and the other animated inhabitants of the world.

The Being that created us was Almighty : he gave us life, and consequently can take it away ; he allotted to individuals a period of existence, beyond which no earthly power can extend it ; nor can any human being say that to-morrow he shall live. For our actual existence, therefore, we are dependent. The same power that formed us, gave the rules by which we were to live ; he prescribed obedience to his will : obedience, therefore, is natural to mankind. He proclaimed his will ; and what he willed was right : man, therefore, in this instance, was not left free to judge of what was good for him. The Creator
for-

forbad; and what he forbad was wrong : thus, again, was man restricted. How then can it be asserted, that men were created free? The only freedom they preserved, was the power of choosing the right or wrong, a power necessary to the proof of merit : they were allowed to do every thing that was right, with a promise of reward for so doing; and they were not prevented from doing wrong, though they would thereby entail punishment. The only circumstance, therefore, in which men are naturally unrestrained, immediately or eventually, is in the power of doing every thing that is right; and, consequently, this power of doing every thing that is right, is the sole basis of natural liberty, and the only conclusion into which it can be resolved.

As this power of doing every thing that is right (which comprehends the power of refusing to do every thing that is wrong, since the refusing to do wrong is doing right) existed from the creation,—liberty, also,

also, the compound of this power, must have been co-existent : but obedience, dependence, submission to government, and subordination, existed at the same period, and each by divine authority. Now, if the Creator preserved liberty to mankind, and at the same time commanded obedience, dependence, submission to government, and subordination, it is evident that the one must be compatible with the other. The strenuous advocates for true liberty need not, therefore, think themselves under the obligation of destroying these necessary consequences of society, to establish their favourite blessing.

The natural rights of man are derivable from natural liberty ; they comprehend the exercise of every faculty with which we are endowed, provided that such an exercise extend not to the injury of another. A man is by natural right allowed the liberty of chalking out for himself the path through life which he may think most suitable to his circumstances or inclinations, provided

provided that he confine himself within the law of nature: he has a right to enjoy the fruits of his own industry and talents, and the free gifts of others; and surely among other blessings he derives from his existence, he has one, which the cavilling writers of this age seem to deny to him, —the right of being content.

But it has been thought necessary for the general good of mankind, that individuals should consent to give up some of the most trivial of their natural rights, to secure the more important ones: when, therefore, they formed themselves into societies for general protection, they thought proper to give to one person a greater degree of power, than without their mutual consent he would have been entitled to; and to this power, which was the free gift of all, they voluntarily agreed to submit. Submission, therefore, became the price of protection; protection insured their natural liberty at a cheaper rate than they could otherwise have preserved it at: for, 'till they had

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universally consented to be governed, they acknowledged no other law than the force of arms, and the weaker, consequently, was continually endangered by the stronger; no one could protect his property but by risking his life: whereas, by submitting to a superior power, he at all times commanded the assistance of that power in his defence; and certain punishment succeeding the commission of crimes, no man could rely on his superior strength for violating the property of another with impunity.

As societies increased in magnitude, assistance became necessary to the superior power: inferior offices were created, ramifying, as it were, from the original trunk, till they extended their shelter over all.—Man, finding himself thus protected, gave a scope to his invention; different occupations ensued, and the employment of each was directed by his peculiar talent or inclination: the labour of a few sufficed to till the earth, and the reapers of its produce exchanged the fruits of their industry for the

the benefits derived from the employment of others. But as they who were engaged in the administration of justice and protection, were debarred from the opportunity of supporting themselves by manual occupations, it was agreed that the labour of their minds, for the good of the public, should be taken in exchange for the emoluments of bodily industry, and universal contributions were established for their support. But, as men were variable in their respective talents, divided in their inclinations, and unequal in industry and œconomy, some employments, according to their usefulness or produce, became superior to others ;—some men kept what they obtained, others squandered it profusely away ;—some wished to instruct, others to be instructed ;—some wished to *have* assistance, others agreed to *give* it upon certain conditions. This diversity of disposition necessarily induced a diversity of rank ; and gradual dependence, protection and subordination took place from the superior

power

power to the lowest order of the community.

But dependence and subordination have nothing in them inconsistent with true liberty ; on the contrary, they are universally necessary for its preservation. Equality is its greatest enemy. Equality and liberty never can be co-existent : they are as incompatible with each other as right and wrong. Equality can exist only amongst the most savage people, subject to no laws, no government, no society, no union, nor general protection whatever : and, among such a people, there can be no liberty ; for each must, in that case, live in continual fear of the other, and his property and life must be subject to the invasions of his neighbour.

If we take a view of the most savage nations, in their earliest infancy, before they formed themselves into societies, we shall find, that under the first dawn of reason they sighed for liberty ; and the first
step

step they took to procure it, was by sacrificing equality, and establishing superiority (of course, inferiority) and subordination. If we take a view of the numberless instances of which history informs us, in which mariners of different nations, savage and enlightened, have been thrown on uninhabited coasts without commanders (when, if ever, they must be considered as equal in rights and privileges, being no longer subject to the laws of the government to which they formerly belonged), we shall find, that the first thing they have thought of, for the establishment of mutual liberty and protection, was the sacrifice of equality, by the appointment of a superior, and the institution of laws, to which they bound themselves to submit.

But, without referring to particular instances, or the origin of governments, let us cast the eye of our mind around the universe,—contemplate the regular gradations of existence, animate and inanimate, and examine whether any just cause can

be assigned, why man, in his peculiar state, should be exempted from those degrees of inferiority and subordination, so visible in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms : for providence seems to have designed a species of coincidence between the various systems he has created, to serve as an assistant to our reason, or rather that, by allegorical allusions, our understandings may be convinced, where reason has not the full sway over the mind. There are few lessons of moral or civil government which we cannot learn from the book of nature, in which seems to have been laid down every precept, as if purposely for the sake of instructing man ; but none so peculiarly striking as the principle of subordination, mutual dependence and alliance. The division or difference which separates one existent from another, is so almost imperceptible, that it has puzzled the keenest eye of philosophy to discover it. The mineral kingdom rises by gradual procession so near the vegetable, as to leave it a matter of doubt whether some substances
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are mineral or vegetable. Again, the vegetable kingdom proceeds from the closest union with the mineral, by the same regular gradation of properties, till it becomes so nearly allied to the animal, as to be united by a being both animal and vegetable.

The higher kingdom begins with animals that vegetate, and ascends to man: and all so closely connected,—so gradually subordinate, and so mutually dependent, as to afford the strongest presumptions that the grand chain of obedience was not intended to be broken here, but to continue linking the regular progressions of human rank, till it ended in the nearest resemblance of the Almighty,—the person, the affections, and the power of a good King.

But to return from a digression into which I have been involuntary betrayed.

While the rabble were persecuting M. Dupremenil in the shocking manner I have
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related, I was standing with another Englishman in the Palais Royal, a distressed observer of what was passing,—an elderly man whom we knew not, of a very respectable appearance, came up to us, and taking and pressing the arm of the gentleman with whom I was, he whispered to us, with tears in his eyes, “ For God’s
 “ fake, gentlemen, retire,—you are fo-
 “ reigners,—be not witnesses to such
 “ shocking acts of barbarity ; let me en-
 “ treat you to retire : believe me, it is not
 “ the French nation who commit or coun-
 “ tenance such cruelties ; they view them
 “ with abhorrence, and feel for them as I
 “ do. Enormities of this kind are only
 “ committed by a parcel of scoundrels,
 “ whom, some how or other, we have
 “ suffered to become our masters : we are
 “ ashamed of them, and all we can say as
 “ our excuse is, that we cannot help it :—
 “ For God’s fake, gentlemen, retire, and
 “ do not judge of the French, from what
 “ you see in this period of calamities and
 “ crimes.” Some people coming up to
 us,

us, he waited not for a reply, but pressing my friend's hand with emotion, he added only, "forgive me," and withdrew.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that numberless contradictory reports were circulated, at the moment, concerning the cause of M. Dupremenil's persecution.—Some asserted, that seeing the federates assembled on the terrace of the Feuillans, he had observed, "Why do not the National Guards pour down upon, and exterminate those rascals?" Others asserted that he had cried out, "*Au diable la nation!*" while the federates were crying, "*Vive la nation!*" But although such assertions, without doubt maliciously invented, had their immediate weight with the rabble, it cannot be supposed that any man in his senses could have been so imprudent as to have made either of the above observations.

A day or two afterwards, M. Dupremenil, though so dreadfully and dangerously

wounded, having escaped with his life, and recovered a little strength, dictated a letter to his lady, which she wrote, signed for him, and published in the papers ; wherein he declared his innocence of what was imputed to him, asserted that he had not been to Coblenz, and that the only crime he had been guilty of, was that of avowing his name, when he was asked if he were not Dupremenil.

The National Assembly, having been frequently applied to by the generals of the armies for re-inforcements, and finding that the citizens were not so ready to enlist themselves as the necessity of the case demanded, had resolved to give an additional spur to their activity, by some grand and solemn act that might make a forcible impression on their minds. They, accordingly, had, with the greatest solemnity, decreed, that the country was in danger ; and, on Sunday, the 22d of July, the decree was proclaimed all over Paris : three guns were fired from the Pont Neuf every hour,

hour, from six in the morning till night ; square pieces of cloth were hung up at the Hotel de Ville, at the Mairie, on the Pont Neuf, and in several other places, on which was inscribed, in large letters, “ *Citoyens, la patrie est en danger!*” Picturesque scaffoldings, something like fortifications, were erected in different parts of the town, on each of which was a tent, ornamented with the national colours and ribbons, in which sat the officers appointed for enlisting and enregistering those who wished to go to Soissons, or to the frontiers ; while the municipal officers on horseback paraded about the town, assembled the people by beat of drum, and having commanded silence in the name of the law, informed them, with the greatest solemnity, that the country was in danger.

The novelty and awfulness of these measures, aided by the pretty appearance of the scaffoldings, and the repeated cries of “ *Vive la nation!*” had such an effect on the minds of the populace, that, in the course

course of a few days, several thousands (it was said ten or twelve thousands) had enrolled themselves; but the generality of them were so young, as to make the National Assembly (*considering that neither age nor shape created courage, and intending to second the patriotism of those brave Frenchmen*) think it necessary to pass a decree, that all should be admitted at the age of sixteen, without any regard to their size or shape. M. Lamarque, however, when this decree was passed, threw a little damp over the patriotic expectations of its success, by observing, very wisely, that it was not sufficient for them to have men,—that it was necessary also that they should have arms.

I leave it to the advocates of the National Legislative Assembly to account, by favourable reasons, why a country, possessing twenty-five millions of souls, should not be able, at a time of imminent danger, to make its strongest army amount to more than five and twenty thousand men. The
military

military state of France, in the summer of 1792, when compared with what it was under Louis the Fourteenth, affords not a very striking proof of the efficacy of the present government. In the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the French had three, four, and, at one time, five armies of sixty, eighty, and a hundred thousand men each, moving at the same time over the different parts of the empire; and yet, although the population of the country has wonderfully increased since that period, the National Assembly were obliged, to give to the armies of the north the least probability of a successful resistance, to order a draught of ten battalions from the southern army; which, had it not been for the representations and advice of General Montesquieu, would have left that part of the empire under his protection, in a defenceless situation.

A strong presumption of the inefficacy of the government may be derived from the necessity, which almost every general
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the French have had during their present war has found himself under, of appearing personally at the bar of the Assembly, complaining of the measures they had taken, and informing them what they ought to do, or to have done.

On the 24th of July, General Montefiquiou appeared at the bar, and observed to the Assembly, that, having been for three months engaged in taking every possible measure for preventing the south from being violated by foreign armies, he did not expect that his efforts would have proved useless: but that his situation was such,—the number of his troops was so circumscribed,—that the ten battalions they were taking away from him, would leave open a very important part of the departments he had to defend. The King of Sardinia, he said, had forces superior to theirs; and the principal attack was directed against Lyons, where the enemy would find much spoil, and, perhaps, a great number of allies.

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M. Montesquieu begged that the Assembly would not take any battalions from him. They were all ready, he said, to perish for liberty; but he entreated the representatives of the people to order the forces he wanted. But troops of the line were not to be found. M. Vergniaud, therefore, proposed, in the name of the extraordinary commission, the following decree, which, he affirmed, was capable of saving the country.

“ The National Assembly, considering
 “ that the public force is essentially esta-
 “ blished for the defence of the country, —
 “ that the National Guards compose substi-
 “ diarily a part of the public force, and that
 “ France is in immediate want of a great
 “ number of soldiers for the support of
 “ its liberty, —decree, that the generals
 “ may take the same measures adopted by
 “ those of the Rhine, and by the National
 “ Assembly. In proportion to the num-
 “ ber of citizens the generals may want,
 “ they may take a fourth part, or, at most,
 “ the

“ the half of the companies of chasseurs,
 “ grenadiers, cavalry, artillery, or dra-
 “ goons, volunteers, that are in any part
 “ France. These shall be first formed in-
 “ to companies, and afterwards into bat-
 “ talions. They shall themselves name
 “ their officers. The generals shall point
 “ out to them the place of rendezvous.”

The committee proposed, that the first lieutenant-colonel of each battalion should be nominated by the generals : but the Assembly decided, that the first lieutenant-colonel, as well as the other officers, should be chosen by the volunteers.

It is not very difficult to form an adequate idea of what would be the most striking qualification of officers so appointed to command. The soldiers, it may be supposed, would not be very ready to choose such officers as they might think would subject them to rigid discipline or control. Every man of the least knowledge of the world, is well informed of

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what must be the most prominent features in the conduct of the man who wishes to conciliate the favour of a multitude; and must, at once, acknowledge, that the same actions which characterise a suppliant for favour, must be incompatible with the duties of an honourable commander. The necessity of a change of manners is, therefore, induced; and this change, striking immediately on the minds of those who have bestowed the favour, would naturally revolt, and cause them to accuse the receiver of ingratitude, thereby breaking the strongest ties of union between the officer and the soldier. It is, besides, morally impossible for any amity or confidence to subsist long between those who have given the absolute command of themselves to others, and those who have received the power from them, and who are constantly and immediately exercising it. The slightest punishment inflicted, however necessary,—the smallest extraordinary labour or fatigue, imposed by an elected commander on his soldiers who granted him his office,

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—the most trivial deviations from the dictates of their opinions, which they will always think ought to have the greatest weight, would be considered by them as an abuse of that power he held on their sufferance, would remind them of the hardships they had brought upon themselves, generally the most indurable, and induce them to reflect that they might have elected, and might still elect, a commander more lenient and more submissive to their inclinations.

A commander, elected by the soldiers, cannot, therefore, have that power which is necessary to discipline; because, his situation being dependent on their caprice, his actions must be, in a great degree, the same; and dependence on the power one commands, is a doctrine too absurd to obtain admittance any where, but in the paradoxical effusions of distracted enthusiasts.

Soldiers who are suffered to elect their commanders, will not submit to that absolute

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lute obedience, which is the essence of good discipline, and the first acquired qualification of a good soldier; because, having conferred a power, they will think themselves entitled, on all occasions, to deliberate on, and control the exercise of that power; and deliberation and control are as incompatible with obedience, as is dependence with command.

In an army, therefore, where officers are so elected, and soldiers so privileged, there can be no good discipline; and without discipline, there can be no fair presumption of success, for numbers are not a sufficient substitute; on the contrary, where no discipline is, numbers are injurious, and that, not only to the conduct of an army, but to its courage. But, on the other hand, discipline has frequently been proved a substitute for numbers. It is unnecessary to mention instances; the proofs of what is here advanced in history are numberless: to an Englishman, particularly, they must immediately occur. What

punishment, then, can be adequate to the infamy of those traitors who attempt to undermine the establishment of those principles, which, giving efficiency to the courage of our brave warriors,—braver by obedience, has purchased and preserved to us so much glory?

It is, in a great degree, to the want of discipline, and the diffusion of that unsocial idea of equality, to which the French owe most of their internal disorders, and failures of success against their foreign enemies. I have, myself, been witness to many the most ridiculous instances of insubordination; none of which, as a general specimen, I shall relate.

An officer of the National Guards, who probably had been elected by the soldiers, arriving, at the head of his troop, at the place de Caroussel, where he wished to station them in a double line, found it necessary to go about to every little division, and tell them, in the most untechnical terms

terms, what they were to do when they received the word. Some of the soldiers, however, had not perfectly comprehended his meaning, and had come out of their ranks to consult with and instruct each other: the officer observing, went up to them, and said, "Pray, gentlemen, return to the ranks, and be silent; or it will be impossible for me to give, or you to hear the word!"

Such is, in general, the discipline of the troops, to whom the defence of Paris is confided, and such, or similar circumstances, will ever be the consequences of permitting the soldiers to chuse their officers. No man, of any spirit or military knowledge, would consent to hold his situation on so precarious a tenor as the caprice of a multitude, who make their own will the rule of their obedience; and when, instead of preferment for the performance of his duty, he can only expect denunciation and dismissal.

Besides, when soldiers are permitted to elect their officers, it cannot be supposed that they would or could at all times pay so much attention to knowledge, talents, and military experience, as to other more trifling and perhaps unmanly traits, that may have made a favourable impression on their minds. An enthusiastic ardour for the establishment of their favourite system; a blinded zeal, a momentary action of heroism; or, on the other hand, a flattering fervility of conduct, a fictitious display of patriotism, or a pretended attachment to the interest of the soldiers, are circumstances that would induce them frequently to elect men, totally unqualified for military command. Knowledge and experience would not, to be sure, create courage; but they would assist most importantly, nay, are almost absolutely necessary in directing it to success. If we may be allowed to judge of the opinion of the ancients in this respect, from the characters of their most celebrated warriors in polished times, we may derive a strong presumption, that they considered

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not only military but literary talents and accomplishments necessary to their commanders : most of their famous generals were eminent, or at least considerable, as men of letters. Among the Greeks, who united in themselves literary and military knowledge, are to be ranked Alcibiades, Pericles, Pisistratus, Dion, Agesilaus, and Epaminondas. Among the Romans, both the Scipio's, Cato the elder and the younger, Lucullus, Pompey, Brutus and Cæsar, were as distinguished in letters as in war. But France seems determined to eradicate every honourable accomplishment and every species of knowledge, and to descend again into that state of savage barbarity and ignorance, from which it has been the constant labour of mankind, from their earliest infancy, to raise themselves. That the abolition of every honourable accomplishment and every species of knowledge, moral, religious and political, is necessary, before they can establish firmly their present favourite system, must be acknowledged ; for while either is in the

least degree remaining, it will always find enemies.

Governments should be composed of the wisest, the most experienced and most honest men in the nation, and such *have* had a share in the legislative authority of France, even since the Revolution: but now we may very aptly apply to the governors of France, what Cicero observed of the Roman Republic in its declining state; when, after having enumerated and celebrated the abilities and talents of those who formerly held the reins, he adds,—“ Nunc
 “ contra, plerique ad honores adipiscen-
 “ dos, et ad rempublicam gerendam, *nudi*
 “ veniunt atque *inermes*, nullâ cognitione
 “ rerum, nullâ scientiâ ornati.”

If, instead of twenty applying at the same time to the president for the *parole*, and several registering themselves one day for the privilege of speaking the first, second, or third on the next, the system of the Athenians in their public sittings were
 adopted

adopted in the National Assembly, and, before they began business, a crier or huissier should proclaim aloud, "Who will speak that is turned of fifty?" the experience of age, at least, might be substituted for the impetuosity of hot-brained youth; calm reasoning and cool debate might take the precedence of flowery expressions, and undeserved and undecisive ridicule, now so frequent; and some sense, firmness and stability might be expected from their proceedings: they would not then be so subject to the violent bursts of laughter, the inconsiderate applauses, and the tumultuous uproars, now so common among themselves and the tribunes. In the court of Areopagus, it was deemed an unpardonable offence for any member to laugh while the assembly were sitting; and a celebrated Sage, one day, having been applauded by the multitude, thought it so strong an indication of some error he had committed, that, turning to his friend, he asked him if he had said a *foolish thing?*

It was during the same sitting in which General Montesquiou petitioned the Assembly not to take away his battalions, that M. Cambon proposed that all the statues of their former Kings should be pulled down and converted into cannons. The statues, he asserted, would make five hundred four pounders, which, far from diminishing the fame of their Kings, would give them an opportunity, even after their death, of making a noise all over the world. This proposal, however, was at this time over-ruled, in spite of the observations of the patriots, who declared, that whatever might be said by the amateurs of monuments which consecrated the conquests of despotism and the slavery of the people, they would be much more useful to them on the frontiers; and ascribed the objections which were made to their demolition, to the desire of preventing the frontiers from being properly supplied with artillery.

Information was now received in Paris, that the Marseillois were approaching in
immense

immense numbers, denouncing vengeance against royalty and aristocracy. Nor did the National Parisian Guards themselves escape the threatenings of this tremendous body ; there had, for some time, existed a spirit of enmity or jealousy between the Marseillois and them : the Marseillois were the avowed enemies of royalty ; the National Guards were by them suspected of being too much attached to it. How this suspicion could have arisen, or whether or not it had been instilled into their minds to answer any particular purpose, I cannot pretend to determine : it is certain, however, that many of the National Guards, chiefly the volunteers, being respectably settled as citizens, and deriving their subsistence from internal commerce, were averse to the introduction of that riot and disorder which obliged them continually to shut up their shops, and occasioned frequent, though temporary stagnations of trade. They had also severely felt the influence which the banishment of most of the superior class had over the consumption

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tion of those articles, by the sale of which they lived, and consequently had not shewn so strong an inclination to exterminate, or countenance the mob in exterminating, the few that remained : and, as the King was regarded by them as the only magnet which had power to retain these few, they were not so strenuous for his destruction as those, who, having nothing to lose by it, and being paid by the government, derived their prospects of advantage from the commotion it would produce.

From the reports that had been assiduously spread by the Jacobins, concerning the arrival of the Marseillois, their numbers, their courage, and their determined resolution to rescue their country from the imputed treacheries of the executive power, all Paris expected them with alarm, with awful deference, and an undetermined fear of the consequences of their coming. It was about this time that accidental circumstances introduced me frequently into the hall of the Jacobins, and
engaged

engaged me in particular conversation with the most violent members. Nothing (excepting La Fayette's accusation, of which I shall speak hereafter) was talked of, but the arrival of the Marseillois, and the wonderful deeds they were to accomplish. The purposes, for which they were to come, were now publicly avowed;—they were to purge the country of its internal enemies (meaning the aristocratic party),—restore to the legislative body their long lost energy,—and preserve the remains of liberty, by obliging them to dethrone the King. In the course of frequent conversations with several members of the Jacobin society, I took every opportunity of requesting particular information concerning the nature of the crimes the King had committed: all I could learn from them was, that he had been treacherous, had violated the constitution, and betrayed the country; but none of them ever furnished me with the least proof of the circumstances they alledged against him. They were particularly anxious to learn what was thought of them

them in this country, and had the audacity, or the ignorance, to compare the licentiousness and democratic tyranny of France,—where neither life nor property was safe,—where neither the opinion of individuals nor the government was free,—with the sterling liberty of England, and hence deduced a supposition that every Briton must be their friend. But they had yet to learn, that, before the French can possibly enjoy the equivalence of English liberty, the society and usurped power of the Jacobins must be abolished; their constitution must be founded in wisdom, and established on justice; their government must be uncontrolled in the exercise of its lawful power, but controlled in the unjust extension of it; the property, the life of every subject must be protected and inviolate; the greatest authority in the kingdom must not arbitrarily dare to touch the smallest particle of the poorest individual's possessions; the beggar's rags must be as sacred as the monarch's crown; the highest subject must be as amenable as the lowest

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to the law ; the administration of justice must be impartial, and its tribunals as open to the peasant as to the lord ; the freedom of opinion, and the freedom of the press, must be admitted,—uncircumscribed by party prejudice, uncontrolled by arbitrary restrictions ; each individual must enjoy an unrestrained license in the exercise of his lawful inclinations ; the actions of the inferior courts must be cognizable by the superior, and every civil and military power must be subject to due subordination : it must not be made death to investigate the conduct of the executive power ; just laws must have their full force ; crimes must meet their just reward ; plunder, barbarity and massacre, must not go unpunished ; religion must be respected and preserved ; the variance of religious opinions must be tolerated, and subjected to no persecution,—for the mind must be as free as the person. When such become the predominant features of the French government, and when the people prove that they deserve such blessings by a

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laudable and principled obedience and attachment to the authorities that grant and protect them,—then, but not till then, will every honest Englishman acknowledge them his brethren in liberty.

The French suffer themselves to be deceived, by their unjust restrictions on opinion and the press: they suffer nothing to be uttered or printed with impunity, that does not coincide with their principles of government: they judge of the general opinions of Englishmen, from the prostituted scribblings of our incendiary prints, which only they permit to be imported; while those, which endeavour to shew their proceedings in their true colours, are denounced and proscribed. Drawing, therefore, their conclusions from erroneous principles, they have the folly to imagine that the people of this country are discontented with their present government; and have the audacity to insult Englishmen, by supposing that they would encourage the hue and cry of a wild-goose chase after nothing, while

while they are in actual possession of every thing that is dear to them, or that they can desire. Liberty is too nearly allied to, and too much interwoven with the disposition and existence of an Englishman, to suffer him to be a stranger to what it is, or where it is to be found: he sees it in the government, and finds it in his own house, his constant and unalienable companion: he will never consent to yield up its actual existence on the scene of real life, to contemplate its fancied existence in the imagery of a puppet-show. Were it by any means to be stolen from him in the night, he would miss it in the morning; as soon would the infant its absent mother, or the aged traveller his trusty staff.

The people, therefore, of this country, are not to be the dupes to malevolent inventions or malicious insinuations: they must feel before they will believe; and when they feel, they *will* believe, in spite of all the ingenious effusions of sophism. They do not *imagine* they possess liberty because

cause they are *told* so ; but they *know* that they possess it, because they immediately and essentially *feel* it. If this liberty were to be invaded, every honest man would in a moment rise up to defend it : but till such an invasion be actually ascertained, he will enjoy the blessings he partakes of, in confidence and content.

If this be the true character of every honest Englishman with respect to liberty, as I hope and believe it is, how ignorant or misled must the Jacobins be, who, by imagining that the people of this country can become their advocates, necessarily conclude that we cannot discriminate between liberty and licentiousness,—between honesty and plunder,—between justice and assassination,—and between a good government and a distracted anarchy ! They think that by their posting up, and *talking* about liberty, we must think them free, and, consequently, must be their friends. They are deceived : we, knowing what liberty is, can judge pretty accurately when
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and where it is possessed, and can safely, and without any danger of contrary demonstration, assert that, notwithstanding all their boasting, they never have been free, and that notwithstanding their pretences, they never yet have fought for liberty.

The Jacobins have lately pretended to discover that monarchy is inconsistent with liberty; they have yet (to use a famous expression of Mr. Paine's) so far to unknow their knowledge, and unthink their thoughts, as to be convinced that a limited monarchy is its surest guardian. Where the legislative power is under no control, and is suffered to appoint the executive power, or where they are both vested in the same hands, who or what is to prevent the slavery of the people, should their government be inclined to enslave them? On the contrary, the people may be free under a despotic monarch, and they may be enslaved, although they may have overthrown monarchy. These assertions may be deemed paradoxical by the advocates
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for cashiering Kings; but facts have, notwithstanding, proved them true: for in the reign of James the Second, Great Britain was free, although a despotic Prince was on the throne; and at the time that Cæsar fell, Rome was still enslaved, although the tyrant was no more.

It is shrewdly asked by an ancient writer, “How can he get wisdom whose talk is of bullocks*?” This enigma must be left to be solved by the Jacobins, whose leading orator, and the most violent partizan of the Marseillois, was a butcher. It was he who, from the tribune of his society, principally thundered out his anathemas against the King and the Aristocracy, and prophesied the glorious actions that were soon to be performed;—it was he who declared that the country only could be free by the abolition of royalty, and gathered together his blood-hounds, to instruct them in the art of slaughter.

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At last the glorious warriors, the valiant Marseillois, the rescuers of their country, arrived ; when, lo ! instead of the thousands that had been expected, five hundred only made their appearance ; and these so badly clothed, for the most part, and so variously and ridiculously equipped and accoutered, that they would have excited the most violent bursts of laughter in any one who had not been already accustomed to such sights : and yet, it will scarcely be believed, did these five hundred men throw the whole city of Paris into the greatest panic and confusion, and overawe every inhabitant into a servile compliance with their demands. The first of their lawless proceedings was to command the immediate disuse of all silk and satin national cockades, which they resolved to consider as symbols of Aristocracy, insisting on the adoption of woollen ones alone. The satin cockades had been so generally worn, and the commands of the Marseillois were so implicitly obeyed, that before the evening of the day of their arrival, the price

of woollen cockades had risen from four to forty and fifty sols. To prove most effectively that they were seriously determined that their commands should be punctually executed, they tore themselves the silk cockades from the hats of every one they met that wore them, insulting and abusing the persons in the grossest manner. Nor did infancy itself escape their insolent barbarity : they had scarcely arrived in Paris, when seeing a child with a piece of national ribbon in his hat, they snatched it from him ; the child cried for the loss of his little ornament, and innocently followed them, begging they would restore it, when these horrid wretches called him a sprig of Aristocracy, beat him to the ground, and crushed him under their feet.

They next proceeded to the Elysian Fields, where were a party of National Guards, dining peaceably under the trees. (I have before mentioned the jealousy that existed between these federates and the Na-

National Guards). They went up to them, and insisted on their drinking “ *Vive la Nation !*” which the guards, not choos-
ing to be dictated to by them, refused to do : high words arose, in the course of which the Marseillois accused them of Aristocracy, and one of the guards, a grenadier, called the most forward of them, a “ *gros paysan ;*” a scuffle ensued,—the guards were routed, and the grenadier was pursued and massacred.

The alarm was immediately spread throughout Paris,—the whole city was in a state of consternation and uproar,—the general was beaten in all the streets,—the citizens flew to arms,—and the National Guards, with their cannon, marched by thousands to the spot on which the action had taken place. The Marseillois saluted them with the shouts of “ *Vive la Nation !*” to which they, the greater part of them, replied, by the cries of “ *Vivent les Fédérés ! Vivent les Marseillois !*” and hoisting and waving their hats on the points of
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their bayonets : when, after having waited there for some time, they again put the horses to their cannon, and marched back to their respective quarters ; while the Marseillois were parading in the most insolent manner about the streets and the Palais Royal, alarming every peaceable citizen, obliging all to shut up their shops, and insulting every one, who, not having heard of their commands, had continued to wear a silk or a satin cockade.

Such were the auspices under which the inhabitants of Paris were obliged to receive the desolators of Avignon and the southern provinces of France, and such were the circumstances which confirmed this desperate banditti in the idea of their superiority over the whole lawful force of Paris. They were received in the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, by their fellow rabble, with the loudest acclamations of joy ; and from this day the danger of the King increased, by regular degrees, 'till his destruction was accomplished.

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It has been asserted, that several other assassinations were committed by the Marseillois on the first day of their arrival. It is not in my power to ascertain the truth of this assertion: all that I can advance as to its probability, is, that on the following morning I went to the Morne*, where I saw two dead bodies, which, as the sentinels informed me, had been found in the street during the night. But, on the contrary side, it must be observed, that it was by no means an uncommon sight to see this hall of death so tenanted. Paris was not destitute of murderers and assassins, even before the arrival of the Marseillois; although it must be confessed, that the latter very deeply instructed the Parisians in the art of *varying* slaughter, and applying

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* The Morne is a cell in which they put the dead bodies that are found in the streets, where they are suffered to lie four and twenty hours to be owned, after which time, if they be not owned, they are buried. Assassinations are so frequent in Paris, that when any one misses his friend, the first place he thinks of going to is the Morne.

ing to such purposes the most uncommon instruments.

But, surely, of all others, the history of the events I am proceeding to relate, will stand the least in need of exaggeration, or assistance from report, to excite and interest the feelings of humanity. There must certainly in the human mind be some limits to the capability of abhorrence, some degree beyond which it can execrate no more: it is, therefore, unnecessary, by relations of imputed cruelties, to strain the strings of sensation, when a simple narrative of ascertained facts, will wind them to their utmost pitch.

On the following day, the King, having heard of the enormities that had been committed, sent a letter to the Assembly, requesting that they would exert their wisdom and authority for the protection of the persons and property of the people, and expatiating most feelingly, on the crimes that were continually suffered to
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go unpunished, and the disorders that incessantly agitated the capital.

The Assembly passed a decree, indicating that all cockades of any quality, provided that they were composed of the three colours, red, white and blue, were national, and authorised by the law !

But the Marseillois still persisted in their resolutions of preventing the use of the silk and satin cockades ; and so little confidence had the people in the power and protection of the legislative body, and so great was their fear of the Marseillois, that, notwithstanding the decree that had been passed, no one dared to re-assume his former bauble.

That battalion, however, of the National Guards, to which the grenadier who had been murdered, and the party that had been insulted, belonged, did not so patiently bear the outrages that had been committed, and the insolent superiority which

which the Marseillois had assumed. They sent a deputation to the Assembly, complaining of the injuries they had experienced, and demanding that the aggressors should be brought to justice; and added, that if their demand should not be immediately complied with, they would block up the Marseillois in their fauxbourg, and punish them as they deserved. The Assembly, equally fearing to offend the Marseillois and the National Guards, referred the business to one of their committees, which was, in fact, taking the surest methods of preventing any further examination of it.

The Jacobins, now finding themselves so strongly reinforced by men of their own stamp, no longer expended their time and oratory in vague denunciations of the treachery of the King, but began openly to assert, that the forfeiture of his crown was necessary to the salvation of the country. They had not now to deal with men accustomed to reason, but to act; and

and the more desperate the deed, the more ready they were sure of finding them to execute it. They no longer had to fear that these men would *shudder* at any proposals that might be made to them, as the former federates had done, and of whom, those that remained in Paris had now been sufficiently long under their tuition to have become as abandoned and profligate as they could wish. The Jacobins now, therefore, went openly to work : they procured from all parts, not undeterminate and undecisive complaints of the perfidies of Louis the sixteenth, but direct and decided petitions for his being dethroned ; and these petitions, though demanding of the Assembly what they had no right to do, though unconstitutional and treasonable in the extreme, were applauded in proportion to the virulence and boldness with which they were delivered, and the petitioners were admitted to the honours of the sitting. The federates, being the nearest, were the first employed : their demands, for they cannot be considered as petitions, were
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generally conceived in very concise terms. One of the many speeches delivered at the bar, on this occasion, was literally as follows : “ Louis has violated the constitution !—Decree the fall of Louis, and the country is saved !”

There yet remained an obstacle to the accomplishment of the purposes of the Jacobins. The King's Guard, which the constitution had allowed him, had been, as I have before observed, dismissed ; all the regiments of the line also had been sent out of Paris. There still, however, remained a regiment of Swiss guards, which, according to the agreement with the Helvetic body, was expressly and solely at the King's command. These brave men had, on many occasions, manifested their attachment to the King ; at least, so far as to shew a determined resolution to defend him from insult, and to guard strictly the posts that had been assigned to them. A circumstance that had recently occurred (on the 24th of July), in which

which they had done their duty, by preventing some of the federates and rabble from executing their designs, when they had attempted to enter the King's apartments by night, had irritated the Jacobins against them, and induced them to procure their dismissal also. Any appearance of obedience to the orders of the executive power, any performance of duty in the defence of any post within the precincts of the King's palace, was considered as a symptom of aristocracy, and too strong an attachment to royalty. But it is not to be wondered at, where the legislative authority (having exterminated the true foundation of right) had adopted crimes for virtues, that virtues should be regarded as crimes; for where one specified line of conduct is followed as the rule of right, whatever is contrary to that line must be deemed wrong: when, therefore, disobedience is established as a virtue, obedience must be regarded as a vice; when plunder is established as a virtue, honesty must be regarded as a vice; and where assassination is
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established as a virtue, protection must be regarded as a vice. Judging, therefore, upon Jacobin principles (for, as M. Petion observes, we must always put ourselves in the situations of those who act or have acted before we can judge properly,) the Swiss had undoubtedly been guilty of the greatest crimes ; for they had been convicted of having prevented the massacre of the King, and *that* from the worst of principles,—an adherence to their duty, and an attachment to the hand that fed them. Thus, following the same system of reasoning, the Swiss were regarded as traitors ; and the National Assembly, convinced of their treason, passed a decree, ordering the executive power to send two battalions of them immediately away.

The reader is not to suppose, that all this while the Jacobins were quiet with respect to M. la Fayette: on the contrary, the accusation they wished to bring against him, and corresponding petitions, occupied a great part of their and the National Assembly.

sembly's attention. But I beg leave to proceed uninterruptedly in the account of the proceedings at Paris, relative to the King, until the 8th of August, on which day the final determination of the Assembly concerning M. la Fayette took place ; and then take a separate review of the conduct of the Jacobins and the Assembly, respecting him.

Ever since the events of the 20th of June, the King, from a proper regard to the personal safety of his family and himself, had ordered the gates of the gardens of the Tuilleries to be shut, and desired that none should be admitted, but those to whom (having immediate business with the executive power) tickets should be delivered. He had also found it necessary to guard the end of the palace facing the Pont Royal, and the front of it, with iron rails. So weak was the cause of the Jacobins in principle and solid reason, and so totally unassisted by proofs of the King's treachery, that they thought it necessary
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to lay hold of the most trivial circumstances in his conduct, and pervert them into arguments of his past or intended treason. The National Assembly adjoins one side of the gardens, to which there is a communication by the terrace of the Feuillans*. When the King had ordered the gates of the garden to be shut, a report was assiduously spread that it was done to facilitate his designs against the patriots of the Assembly; that he might now surround them with troops, form a camp unobserved within the gardens, or carry any other treasonable intention into execution, while no one but his own party was admitted to see what might be going on. Petitions and petitioners, for all purposes, were easily to be procured, and, consequently, many were immediately sent to the Assembly, desiring a decree that the gardens might again be made public. The Assembly passed the decree,—the gardens were thrown open,—and the terrace of the Feuillans became as crowded as usual. I leave it to the reader to form what reflections he

* A part of the gardens.

he pleases on the nature of the French character, from the following circumstance ; it is sufficient for me to relate it. When the gardens were thrown open, not a single person would enter further than the terrace of the Feuillans, which (as I have observed) adjoined the National Assembly: they who first took possession of the terrace, closed each of the avenues to the interior part of the garden with a blue ribband, and posted up the following inscription :
 “ Wiscitizens ! Respect yourselves ! Give
 “ to this feeble barrier the force of bayo-
 “ nets ! The defence has not been vio-
 “ lated : no one has thought proper to
 “ attack this new species of bastion ; and
 “ the blue riband is yet insurmountably
 “ extended.”

A number of the federates who had first arrived, and other volunteers, had been sent to form the camp at Soissons, before the necessary preparations for their reception could be made : they, accordingly, sent a deputation to the National Assembly,

bly, stating their complaints. Their orator observed (on the 31st of July), that the volunteers were left without arms, and without discipline:—" A plot has been laid," said he, " for the dissolution of this camp, before even it should be formed. If the armies should now receive a check at Vesne, or at Maubeuge, we should be exposed to the enemy without being able to defend ourselves. We demand a decree that may detain us at Soissons, and that all the military equipage may be conducted there, because we can be better disciplined in camps than in cities,—order that arms may be distributed to us, that we may learn how to fight the enemy,—order that clothes may be given us, better nourishment, and particularly better bread."

The National Assembly decreed, that three commissaries, members, should be sent to visit the camp at Soissons, and over- turn

turn the supposed plots of the executive power to dissolve it.

The insolence of the Marseillois, since their arrival at Paris, had so incensed some of the battalions of National Guards, that several deputations had been sent to the Assembly to demand that they should be immediately ordered to depart. The Marseillois, however, had publicly avowed their resolutions not to leave Paris till they had seen the King dethroned; the Assembly, therefore, had they been so inclined, would not have dared to grant the desire of the National Guards;—they, accordingly, sent their petitions to the extraordinary commission for its consideration, or rather that it might invent some plausible excuse for authorising or justifying the stay of the Marseillois.

The Marseillois, on the other hand, having been feasted and instructed by Santerre, a man very ambitious, but of most contemptible talents, and who had con-

trived, some how or other, to distribute among them and the rest of the rabble immense sums of money, sent a petition to the Assembly, demanding the dismissal of the superior officers of the National Guards. This petition, also, reduced the Assembly to another awkward dilemma.—It was well known to whose account this dismissal was eventually to turn,—it was well known that Santerre was aiming at the appointment of commander-general, and the popularity of this man made it dangerous to counteract any intentions in his favour. There were, however, several battalions of the National Guards, among whom were those *des Filles St. Thomas**, and *des Petits Pères*, who were avowedly inimical to the Marseillois, and attached to, and determined to support their superior officers. The National Assembly, therefore, found themselves ob-

liged

* It was a grenadier of this battalion who was killed, and a part of it that was insulted by the Marseillois on their first arrival.

liged to send the petition of the Marseillois to the extraordinary commission, for the same purposes as those for which they had sent to it the petition of the National Guards, to find a plausible excuse why it should not be complied with. Accordingly, the reporter of the commission, on the 21st of July, observed to the Assembly, that it was unnecessary for them to engage their attention about the dismissal of the superior officers of the National Guards, because the *Etat-Major* was on the point of being renewed ; and that it was equally unnecessary for them to think about the departure of the Marseillois, because the preparations which the minister of War had announced to the Assembly as having been made at Soissons, had actually *not* been made.

On the 1st of August, M. Carnot proposed that the National Assembly should decree, that all the troops of the line should, thenceforth, be confounded with those of the National Guards, that the ex-

ecutive power might no longer appoint their superior officers. He proposed, also, that they should establish national games, and ordain recompenses for such citizens as might deserve well of their country; that they should order the municipalities to have pikes made, as a substitute for musquets, *and distribute them to all the citizens*; that these pikes should be made at the expence of the public treasure, and under the care of the directories of districts and departments: he observed that *that* was the only means of knowing the national spirit, and of alarming every tyrant; and that, by thus uniting and encouraging the citizens, it was also the means of rendering France invincible.

‘But, added he, in demanding of you the distribution of these pikes to all the citizens, I did not mean to include men *without principle*, or men known by their incivism, to whom it would be dangerous to give arms: I propose to you to leave *to the council*

*council general of the corporation**, the care of delivering those arms to citizens known by them *as zealous defenders of liberty*†, and to permit them to take away the arms of *those whom they may suspect of intending to make an improper use of them.*'

He proposed that these pikes should be made on the model of that of the Marechal de Saxe; that a model of it should be sent to each corporation; and that none of these arms should be less than eight feet, or more than ten feet long.

This proposal was generally applauded and adopted, and the impression of it was ordered. It needs no comment, and, indeed, it is now become almost unnecessary for me to animadvert on any particular action or decree. The general principles

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* In other words, *the Jacobin magistrates.*

† Meaning the men of the 5th and 6th of October and the 20th of June, and the Marseillois and other federates.

upon which the most conspicuous agents, in the events of last summer, have acted, I have endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to reveal. I shall, therefore, confine myself in future, as much as possible, to a simple narrative of facts, leaving it to the reader to determine on the causes by which they were produced, and to the investigation of which, I think I have already given him a sufficient clue.

On the 2d of August, several of the Marseillois appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, and demanded permission to remain at Paris as hostages, until the termination of the process which was (as was pretended) going on relative to the event that had taken place in the Elysian Fields. They demanded, also, that the guard of the Assembly should be composed of three hundred men of each department. They obtained the honours of the sitting.

I pass

I pass over the number of petitions that were, at this time, presented to the Assembly, demanding the dethroning of the King. When the character of the people who presented them, always the lowest rabble, and the influence which the Jacobins, by their affiliations, had in every department, are considered,—these petitions, however numerous, can never be regarded as the united voice of the nation.

When, also, it is considered, that the mob had by this time rendered themselves the absolute masters of the Assembly, the municipality, and, in short, of all Paris, it will not be wondered at, that the quiet and respectable citizens, however they might desire it, did not dare to interfere, by endeavouring to preserve their King upon his throne.

In the evening sitting of the 2d of August, crowds of petitioners poured into the bar of the Assembly, to announce a most horrible attempt that had been made to
murder

murder the volunteers that were forming the camp at Soissons. Pounded glass had been found in their bread.

The Assembly and the tribunes were immediately in an uproar ; this was considered as a decided proof of the treason of the executive power, who, as it was supposed, had taken this method of destroying the brave men who were to defend their country. The Assembly dispatched an extraordinary courier to Soissons, to inquire more particularly into the business.

In the mean time, the news was assiduously spread throughout all Paris, not in its original shape, but as it suited the intentions of the Jacobins to make it appear. They had succeeded so well in their endeavours to mislead the people, that, on the following morning, it was confidently reported and believed, that the King had employed emissaries to poison the whole camp ; that two hundred of the volunteers had already actually died before the
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deputation came away ; that four or five hundred were then dangerously ill ; and that it was expected, that almost all the rest would share the same fate.

It is unnecessary to observe on the effects this report produced : however, on the third of August, the day after the original report had arrived, one of the secretaries read a letter from the commissaries of the National Assembly at the camp of Soissons, (M. M. Carnot, Lacombe, and Gasparin). They announced that some pieces of glass had been found in a *loaf* of bread, belonging to the first battalion. The commissaries of the Assemblies had visited the bakehouse : they were accompanied by some National Guards of the camp, and commissaries from the municipality : they had made the strictest searches in the places where the flour was kept, and where it was worked : they declared that the Assembly ought not to be alarmed concerning the consequences of this event, as they thought they had discovered the true cause
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of it, which was not a crime but a negligence: this negligence resulted from the flour having been placed in the church of Saint Jean, under some windows in which a few panes of glass had been broken. The commissaries, therefore, prayed the Assembly to suspend their opinion on this affair, until they had received further information, which was being collected with the greatest care.

They who are acquainted with the nature of mobs, and the forcible impressions that are frequently made on their minds by the most trivial occurrences, must know, also, that that belief, which has not been founded on reason and truth, will never be eradicated by reason or truth. Of all perverse foibles, ignorance is the most obstinate. The rabble, having blindly given credit to a false report, will very rarely acknowledge themselves to have been wrong, though conviction should stare them in the face: they will set their inventions to work, to palliate or justify their credulity, and
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weaken every argument or fact that should convince them of their error; and thus, as first impressions always strike the deepest, the original report will rangle in their minds, while demonstration floats on the surface but as a superficial and baseless idea.

So it was in this instance;—nothing could convince the populace that it was *not* by order of the King that the glass was in the bread, and that there had *not* been a design to poison the whole camp, although that design had not succeeded. Some insinuated that the commissaries might have given an appearance of accident to the event, that the nation and volunteers might not be alarmed, and that the progress of enlisting might not be impeded;—while they who reasoned coolly on the subject, and had been witnesses to the deep-laid plans, and still more complicated schemes, that had so frequently been invented for the destruction of the King, ascribed the whole affair to the malicious machi-

machinations of the Jacobins, to procure a burst of indignation in the people against the executive power.

But whatever was the cause of the event, whether accident or intention, it is certain, that the affair contributed not a little to keep up and strengthen the inveteracy of the people against their lawful sovereign.

On the third of August, a deputation from the federates of the eighty-three departments appeared at the bar, and demanded that the King should be dethroned. An address, also, on the same subject, was read from the citizens of Falaise.

A letter from the King, countersigned by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, informed the Assembly, that the Elector of Cologne, the Margrave of Baden, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, no longer left any doubt of their hostile dispositions.

M. Thuriot

M. Thuriot discovered in this notification, compared with the silence that the ministry had kept till that day, a certain proof of an intelligence with the Austrian committee. Upon his motion a debate took place, concerning the day on which the Assembly should engage themselves on the great measure which *the nation* had so long expected. The Thursday following, the ninth of August, was fixed for the commission to render the account of its labours.

M. Duhem read an address from Lille, which solicited, in favour of M. Dumourier, a decree, declaring that he had deserved well of the country, because he alone had remained at his post, and had secured the department of the north from an invasion. It afterwards denounced the executive power as the author of all the evils with which the country was distressed.

On Saturday the 4th, a letter was read from the commissaries who had been sent
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to Soissons, which confirmed what they had already written to the Assembly, respecting the glass in the bread. They observed to the Assembly, that the inhabitants were put to too much inconvenience, and their houses were too full, by lodging the federates, while the houses of the emigrants and the religious houses were quite empty; but that the department did not dare to dispose of the latter, without the authority of the Assembly for so doing, which they solicited. A member converted this demand into a motion; and the Assembly decreed, that the administrators of the departments might dispose of the houses of the emigrants and the religious houses that were empty, for the lodging of the federates.

On the same day, an address and resolution from the Section of Mauconseil was read, the authors of which demanded the destitution of the executive power, and invited all the sections of the empire to proclaim it, by retracting the oath which
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had been *taken by surprise* from them, in favour of Louis the Sixteenth.

After much debate upon this address, which some members regarded as *invasive of the sovereignty of the people*, it was decreed, upon the motion of M. Cambon, that the committee of General Safety should send in its report *séance tenante*.

The Assembly passed to the order of the day, on the proposal made in the name of the Marine committee, for arming thirty-three ships, in consequence of the reports spread concerning the dispositions of England, and the fleet it had just sent out to sea.

A department from the section des Gravilliers appeared at the bar, demanded the dethroning of the King, and told the Assembly, that if they *could* or *would* not save the country, the people would, very shortly, rise up to save it themselves. High debates ensued on this *petition*; however, the *petitioners* obtained permission to introduce

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duce themselves into the hall of the Assembly.

After the orator had delivered his *petition*, a grenadier, speaking in the name of the grenadiers and chasseurs of that section, declared to the Assembly, that they had renounced the appendages of their uniform distinctive of grenadiers: they deposited their caps and epaulettes, and demanded that they might be sent to the frontiers.—The orator immediately put on a red cap.

M. Vergniaud presented himself, in the name of the committee of General Safety: he proposed an act, by which the Legislative Body should annul, as unconstitutional, the *deliberation* of the section of Mauconseil, considering that the *sovereignty* could not be exercised by one section of the people. The National Assembly invited the people to keep themselves calm, and secure themselves from the seduction of counsels which agitated them;—they then pronounced the act, and afterwards heard a discourse from
M. Lagre-

M. Lagrevole, desiring that all that concerned the general safety should be given up to the *administrative and municipal bodies*, and that a committee, taken from the Legislative Body, should be created, to superintend the operations of the police. The Assembly ordered the impression of this discourse.

I shall make only one general observation, which will serve to explain the reason why, at this time, it was thought proper to make so many changes among the civil and military officers. The departments were, in general, attached to the King;—the heads of the municipality were, for obvious reasons, his determined enemies: it was, therefore, necessary, that as much power as possible should be taken from the former and given to the latter. The Etat-Major of the National Guards was also suspected of aristocracy: those officers, therefore, it was necessary to dismiss in favour of Jacobin commanders. Excepting Petion, Manuel, and his col-

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league,

league, the municipal officers were not altogether so hardened in iniquity as to be safely trusted, during the execution of the infernal purpose that was in agitation; they, therefore, were, as occasion offered, suddenly to be exchanged for more determined and more dependent men: and, in short, every man, in whom the least principle of honour or integrity remained, was to be dismissed from any share of power, and all the civil and military authorities in Paris were to be vested in the hands of the most inveterate Jacobins, which accordingly took place.

The National Assembly had, as has been before observed, passed a decree, ordering the executive power to send immediately from Paris two battalions of the regiment of Swiss Guards, from whom the King could derive the only probability of protection he had left. The minister at War, on the fourth of August, wrote to the Assembly on this subject: he told them, that the King *had* given orders for
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the departure of two battalions of Swiss. They were to have gone in garrison at Cambray, and three hundred men only were to have been taken from them to be sent into the department of Eure, to protect the navigation of the Seine, and the provisionment of the capital.

But M. d'Affry had presented to the King some observations on that disposition of the troops, which tended to parcel out the regiment contrary to the intentions of the Helvetic body, and which, perhaps, would stop the course of the negociations for the renewal of treaties. The King, therefore, had retracted the order he had given; and, consequently, three hundred only would be sent to the department of Eure.

Their departure, however, was too necessary to the Jacobins, to be stopt by any such trivial considerations as a conformity to treaties, nor was any time to be lost. M. Richard, therefore, demanded that the Assembly, without having any regard to

the account given by the minister, should insist on the execution of their decree, and the immediate departure of the Swifs,—which was decreed.

On Sunday the 5th of August, many deputations from the different sections were admitted at the bar : one, from the section de la Bibliothèque, came to contradict the address for the destitution of the King, presented the evening before by other citizens of that section. This occasioned a great uproar in the Assembly. M. Brissot declared, that they who came to contradict that address, composed the *gangrened* party of the section de la Bibliothèque. They, therefore, were not admitted,

Another deputation, from the section of the Arsenal, disapproved of the resolutions of the section of Mauconseil, and were admitted to the honours of the sitting.

Another deputation, from the section of Mauconseil, came, in consequence of their refo-

resolutions being annulled the evening before, to declare that they regarded the King as dethroned, and the people as absolved from their oath in his favour. This declaration was sent to the committee, and twenty of the *petitioners* were admitted to the honours of the sitting.

On Monday the 6th of August, the Assembly, having heard a great number of this sort of petitions, decreed, that all the addressees which the Assembly should order to be sent to the departments, should be directly sent to them by *the commissaries of inspection of the hall of the Assembly*, without passing through the offices of the ministers.

The President announced, that some citizens demanded permission to present at the bar a petition, which had been deposited for three days at the Champ de Mars, and which was strengthened by a number of signatures. The Assembly admitted them. They were preceded by a man bearing a

pike, on the point of which was a worsted cap : on the middle of the pike was fixed a piece of pasteboard, having this inscription—*Déchéance du Roi.*

Some members of the Assembly demanded that the inscription should be taken away, before the orator of the deputation should be allowed to speak. The *petitioners* put it aside. The orator read the petition : he demanded that the King should be considered as having abdicated the throne ; that all the Etat-Majors of the army should be broke ; that La Fayette should be put in a state of accusation ; that the levy of troops should be augmented ; that the patriotic ministers should be re-integrated ; that the executive power should be entrusted to them ; that they should acknowledge no other laws than those of the Assembly ; that all the ambassadors should be recalled ; that a clear account of the state of the finances should be made out ; and lastly, that it should be no longer permitted to sell money

money*. The president answered to the petitioners, that the Assembly would examine their demands ; and the Assembly, having been consulted, decreed, that the petitioners should be admitted to the honours of the sitting. They accordingly entered, amidst the most unbounded applause.

Several members, finding it no longer in their power to resist the torrent of democratic tyranny that was pouring in so fast upon the nation, had sent in their resignation, and others had petitioned for leave of absence on the score of health, which had been willingly granted.

M. Lacombe Saint Michael, one of the commissaries sent to Soissons, gave in an

* The National Assembly had, some time before, decreed, that paper money should be deemed the only currency of the kingdom, and that gold and silver coins should be considered as articles of merchandise, and bought and sold as such. Money markets had, consequently, been held in the Place de Victoire, the Palais Royal, and elsewhere, which the mob were taught to believe were for the purpose of buying up all the coin of the nation for the use of the King.

an account of his mission. He assured the Assembly, that there had been no bad intentions concerning the bread, but only a negligence and an unpardonable want of cleanliness. The commissaries had found and put aside some sacks of flour that had been a little injured, independent of which they had found three thousand two hundred sacks of good wheat.

He asserted, that the volunteers were in the best disposition, as were all the inhabitants of the environs, who brought them furniture of all kinds, which was wanting at the camp, *through the faults of the executive power*. No disorders were committed, and the volunteers demanded only musquets and straw,

The number of federates, at this time at Soissons, was reported to be nine thousand.

Petitions, for the destitution of the King, continued to be presented, and grenadiers con-

continued to deposit in the Assembly their caps and epaulettes,

The rabble that had constantly filled the galleries of the National Assembly had lately become so exceedingly tumultuous, and had so much interfered in the debates, not only by their bravoës and hisses, but by the absolute declarations of their opinions and ideas, that even the members, at last, grew ashamed of the license they had allowed them, and found it totally impossible to proceed in their business, until measures should be taken to keep the tribunes in some little degree of decency.— They had frequently called them to order without effect; they had had recourse to the armed force, and even went so far as to arrest some of the ringleaders; all which only served to irritate the people, and make them more tumultuous.

On Tuesday the 7th of August, when the rabble were about to take their usual places, they found that, during the night,
divi-

divisions had been made in the tribunes, and places had been reserved for sentinels, who, accordingly, came to take their posts. This so offended the *calm pride* and *sovereign majesty* of the mob, that a violent uproar ensued. They cried out, “down
“with the grenadiers caps*,——down
“with the bayonets,—we will suffer no
“other arms to restrain us but those of
“reason; we will exercise the police our-
“selves.” At last, the National Assembly found themselves obliged to obey the commands of their *sovereign*, and pass a decree, authorising the tribunes to name among themselves four inspectors to ex-
ercise

* The reader is not to suppose that the grenadiers of every battalion had followed the ridiculous example of the few who first deposited their caps and epaulettes in the Assembly, or that the National Guards were all on one side of the question; on the contrary, there were several battalions who were the avowed enemies of the proceedings that were now going on, and of the rabble that were engaged in them. The bulk of respectable citizens also contemplated with sorrow, and sighed over the prospect of enormities they wished, but wanted power to prevent.

ercise the police, instead of the sentinels, who were, accordingly, sent away.

Indeed, the National Assembly had, by this time, rendered themselves so truly despicable, so abjectly the slaves to the caprices of the mob, that they could no longer be considered but as a passive instrument, upon which the breath of the multitude might play what tune it pleased.—The most patriotic papers did not scruple to make them the butt of their ridicule and satire. They had, by their ignorance and injustice, reduced the nation to the lowest state of anarchy and distraction, from which they had neither the ability to form, nor the power to execute an honourable plan for its relief. They had, by their frequent violations of the constitution, induced the people no longer to regard or respect it as an established sun, enlightening and regulating by itself its dependent bodies, but as a mirror, reflecting the mutations of popular caprice. They had eradicated universal contemplation and obedience,

dience, and substituted individual consultation in their stead. Hence the principles of right and wrong being removed from the foundations on which they were originally established by united suffrages, became transferred to insulated opinion and interested determination, and each man no longer looked to the constitution as the regulator of his conduct, but to himself.

In the Constituent Assembly there were men of enlightened talents, of brilliant accomplishments, and honourable intentions : but, being called upon suddenly to perform the greatest work of which human ability is capable, and having in their view the admiration of an attentive world, they seem to have turned their minds more to the beauty and magnificent appearance of the superstructure, than to the foundation on which it was to be built. Each giving a scope to his invention, imagined some new elegance or ornament that might attract immediate admiration, instead of contributing to the stability of the whole.

Their

Their conceptions were grand and sublime; but, in the contemplation of the grandeur of their work, they overlooked the impossibility of giving it its proper motion. They created a sun,—they formed a planetary system,—gave to each planet its corresponding satellites,—prescribed the rules by which all the component bodies should respectively be guided; but they thought not of the gravity, the attraction and repulsion that were necessary to confine them to their proper orbits. They acted as if they imagined that they were forming a system for the government of a society of angels, which was from them to be delivered to the regulation of an Almighty hand, and, therefore, built on the *idea* of right and perfection, instead of experience and the disposition of men. They were too proud to borrow from the wisdom of the world, and made novelty their darling object; attaching themselves more to a pompous declaration of rights, than to the establishment of laws prohibitory of wrong, as if the people of regenerated France

France had changed their nature and become no longer fallible. They wished to establish liberty, but had not sufficiently considered what it was, or how it was to be secured. They consulted imagination, where they should have been determined by reason, and, consequently, adopted a shadow, when they should have grasped a substance. With respect to the power to be allotted to the King, they reflected on the past, instead of considering the future. They were determined to secure the people from becoming the slaves to monarchy, but took no pains to secure them from the tyranny of democracy, as if liberty could be invaded only by a single person. They thought only of the restrictions they might place on royalty, instead of giving to the King the power that was necessary to secure the freedom of the people, whose immediate pleasure they consulted more than their true and future interests.

When the Constituent Assembly had, as they imagined, completed a perfect system

tem of government, they delivered this complicated machine, — this chariot of Apollo, which was to enlighten the whole globe, into the hands of inexperienced, ambitious and uncertain men. How well it has been guided, the conduct of the Legislative Assembly has sufficiently exemplified. Like Phaeton, they have found themselves obliged to throw the reins on the necks of those they should have governed, and suffered them to run wildly and distractedly away with the constitution, which, had it been confided to able and enlightened men, might have been gradually corrected and improved, until the speculations of theory had given way to the possibility of practice, and the effusions of fancy to salutary and efficient laws.

We may judge of the contempt in which the Legislative Body were, at this time, held, even by their own party, from the following animadversions on their conduct respecting the tribunes, by one of the most patriotic editors :—

x

“ Why

“Why did not the Assembly,” said he,
 “think sooner of this wise and natural
 “expedient? Why did they wait till they
 “found themselves forced to adopt it?
 “Will they never do any thing that is
 “good,—any thing that is praise-worthy,
 “but by the commands of the people?
 “It is certain that, if the tribunes were
 “to be deserted to-day, or if the persons
 “in them were to be condemned to re-
 “main passive and neuter, to-morrow the
 “Legislative Body would feel the loss of
 “them,—they would be *entirely* degraded,
 “and lose the little energy they have left.
 “The people, by their presence, serve as
 “regulators to their representatives: they
 “first feel the proper emotion, to trans-
 “mit it afterwards to the Assembly, and
 “recal them to order.”

When such observations are made on
 them, by one of their own party, I think
 it will not be imagined that I have been
 guilty of exaggeration in the accounts I
 have

have given of the weakneses and dependence of the National Legislative Assembly.

On Wednesday the 8th of August, the minister of Justice announced to the Assembly, that the decree, which ordered that all the citizens, capable of bearing arms, should be armed with pikes, was sanctioned by the King.

Several deputations of grenadiers appeared at the bar, to protest against the resolutions, taken by their brother soldiers, to lay aside their caps and epaulettes.

The order of the day called up the discussion concerning M. La Fayette.

As this discussion was not intended to try M. La Fayette for his imputed crimes, but only to determine, in consequence of the numerous petitions the Assembly had received against him, whether or not he should be put in a state of accusation,--and as the decision of this question had an im-

mediate and important effect on the Jacobins and the mob, a brief account of what was alledged against him, and what was adduced in his defence, may not be unacceptable or uninteresting.

The reader is already acquainted with the letter which M. La Fayette had sent to the National Assembly in the month of June.

He has also been informed of M. La Fayette's visit to the National Assembly, and the subject of his discourse at the bar.

These two circumstances formed the original ground of complaint against him : but the National Assembly, in spite of the declamations of the Jacobins, and the frequent denunciations of the mob against La Fayette, not thinking that these circumstances alone could authorize them to put him in a state of accusation, had frequently passed to the order of the day when the subject had been proposed. Several

veral of the members, denominated Aristocrats, had observed, that as no law existed, at the time of his being in Paris, that made La Fayette's appearance at the bar culpable in any respect, it would be extremely unjust to judge him by one that had been made subsequent to that event. Some members had proposed that the minister of War should be interrogated, whether or not he had given La Fayette leave to quit his army. This proposal, however, being put to the *appel nominal* (that the mob might know who voted on their side of the question), was negatived. The Jacobins, therefore, being thwarted in their first endeavours to revenge themselves on La Fayette, and despairing of being able to bring him to a state of accusation for that part of his conduct which, having been publicly observed, admitted of no misrepresentation of facts, had recourse to other measures; accordingly, another circumstance, more treasonable than either of the first (but whether real or invented, I leave it to the reader here-

after to determine), was heard of in the month of July.

Luckner had been at Paris, and, after his departure, it was asserted by some Jacobin members, that he had declared before them, that M. La Fayette had made proposals to him to march with his army against Paris.

This assertion was assiduously spread all over Paris, and the usual measures were taken to procure the destruction of La Fayette. Petitions, without number, were sent to the Assembly, demanding that he should be publicly accused : several members had already spoken on the subject, and a day was at last appointed for taking into consideration the denunciations that had been made against him. M. Lafource had put down his name for the first word, and, accordingly, on the 21st of July, he ascended the tribune, and made the following speech : the reader will determine
the

the weight of the arguments it contains ;
I translate it literally :—

“ I come to overthrow an idol to whom
“ incense has been paid too long : I my-
“ self partook of the error of his adorers :
“ I come, disabused, to expiate that dread-
“ ful error.

“ How should I not be disabused ?—I
“ have seen him, I have heard him,—the
“ audacious man,—attacking the majesty
“ of the representatives of the sovereign,*—
“ devoting them to execration, or to con-
“ tempt,—representing them as the slaves
“ of a faction, as villains, or as cowards.
“ He demands the blood of some, the obli-
“ vion of others,

“ He has said to us, ‘ let the royal
“ power be inviolate.’ Oh perfidy ! It is
“ precisely what Leopold has said to us.
“ Is it a reproach that La Fayette address-

x 4 “ fes

* A term long since applied to, and meaning the people.

“ ses to us? Is it a suspicion that he ma-
 “ nifests? One case or the other is a great
 “ crime.

“ He came afterwards to dictate laws
 “ to us, and brave our power: he came
 “ to bring us the wish of all his army.
 “ Ah! if the vengeance of the law ought
 “ to fall on the head of a guilty man, was
 “ there ever a more horrible villain?—
 “ He told us that he came to present
 “ himself *alone*!—Present thyself alone!
 “ Insolent conspirator! Could’st thou,
 “ then, audacious Cataline, have come
 “ preceded by cannon, and surrounded by
 “ bayonets, to cut the throats of the re-
 “ presentatives of the people?

“ The impostor had distributed amongst
 “ his army a hundred thousand livres
 “ worth of rum; it is by these infamous
 “ means that the traitor seduces his army.
 “ But these crimes are nothing;—here is
 “ one a thousand times more dreadful:—
 “ He wished to lead his troops against the
 “ capital.

“ capital. Bureaux de Puzy made the proposition to Luckner.

“ I invoke to this the testimony of M. M. Brissot, Guadet, Genfonnet, Lamarque, and Herault de Sechelles. I demand that M. Luckner should be called to speak the truth; and if I have deceived the Assembly, I consent to be as vile, as hated, as despised, as execrated as that abominable traitor La Fayette.

“ That La Fayette dares to think that his love of liberty cannot be disputed. I dispute it with him,—with *him*, that atrocious man: I dispute it with him,—with *him*, that man still quite disgustingly loathsome with the blood of his fellow citizens*,—that man, the most horrible of our enemies.”

This

* Alluding to La Fayette's having formerly ordered the National Guards to fire on the rabble in the Champ de Mars, whereby he prevented the commission of such horrid crimes

This discourse was received with the loudest approbation and applause, by the patriots and the rabble in the tribunes.

It is unnecessary to observe on what was advanced in La Fayette's defence, or to follow M. Dumolard through the very able speech he delivered in his favour.—The debate was long. At last, some members demanded that the discussion should be closed. M. M. Fauchet, Bazire and Chabot opposed that step. The dispute concerning the closing of the discussion became tumultuous, and the tribunes performed their part in it by loading the Assembly with hisses, bravoës, murmurs, or applauses, as they thought they seemed inclined to take the right or the wrong side.

The uproar increased: the president complained that one of the tribunes hissed even

crimes as have lately been induced by the contrary conduct of M. Petion, who suffered the mob to raise themselves above all law or restraint whatever, rather than do his duty, and subject himself to their displeasure.

even close behind him. He gave orders to the guards to arrest the spectator *who had so much forgot himself*. “Come, let’s be gone,” cried the people in the tribunes; “—let us be gone,—we will stay no longer with them;” and a violent commotion took place. The president put on his hat*,—the uproar by degrees abated, and calm was at length restored.

M. Brissot demanded the prorogation of the discussion. M. Fauchet demanded the adjournment of it, till M. Luckner should have explained himself on the fact alledged, and informed the Assembly whether or not M. La Fayette had proposed to him to march the two armies to Paris.

The following certificate was laid on the table, and remitted to the commission of twenty-one:—

“Some

* A solemn sign that the Assembly is in mourning.

“ Some members of the National As-
 “ sembly having had an opportunity of
 “ seeing M. the Marechal Luckner, on
 “ the evening of the 17th of July, at the
 “ house of the Bishop of Paris, and hav-
 “ ing asked him if it was true, that it had
 “ been proposed to him, on the part of
 “ M. La Fayette, to march to Paris with
 “ his army, after the event of the 20th
 “ of June,—M. the Marechal Luckner
 “ answered in these terms:—*I do not*
 “ *deny it ; it was M. Bureaux de Puzy,—*
 “ *he who has been, I think, three times pre-*
 “ *sident of the National Assembly. I re-*
 “ *plied to him, I shall never lead the army*
 “ *I command but against our external ene-*
 “ *mies. La Fayette is at liberty to do what*
 “ *he pleases ; but if he marches to Paris,*
 “ *I will march after him, and I will drub*
 “ *him. M. Bureaux de Puzy then said to*
 “ *me, But the life of the King is in danger !*
 “ *There is what he said to me ; and they*
 “ *made me other proposals still more hor-*
 “ *rible.*”

“ Such

“ Such were the exact expressions of
 “ the Marechal Luckner, which we heard,
 “ and which we attest. (*Signed*) BRISSOT,
 “ GUADET, GENSONNET, LASOURCE,
 “ LAMARQUE, DELMAS.”

The Assembly were proceeding on this subject, when the president announced that a number of citizens, alarmed for the safety of the Assembly, demanded admission. “ We are in no danger,” exclaimed a member. The Assembly passed to the order of the day.

The president again announced that a great concourse of people were proceeding towards the Tuilleries. It was proposed that the Mayor of Paris should be immediately sent for. The Assembly were informed that he was there. He appeared, and observed, that he had seen nothing alarming about the Assembly,—that the citizens who had wished to enter into the Tuilleries had promised him to remain quietly at the gates of the garden.

Many

Many members immediately demanded the adjournment of the subject concerning La Fayette. Long and tumultuous debates ensued, in which the spectators bore the greatest share. It was at last decreed, that the subject should be adjourned, until further information respecting the new denunciation should be received. The sitting was broke up; and the Assembly, having come to no final determination relative to La Fayette,—their *sovereign*, who were waiting to pronounce judgment on their decision, dispersed, and retired to their own homes.

A letter was immediately dispatched to M. Luckner, desiring to know if M. La Fayette had ever made a proposal to him to march with his army to Paris.

Another was sent to La Fayette, to ask of him, whether or not he had ever made such a proposal to M. Luckner.

M.

M. Bureaux de Puzy was summoned to appear personally at the bar of the Assembly, to give them all the information he could concerning the charges that had been adduced against M. La Fayette.

The first contradiction that was given to the calumniators of M. La Fayette was by M. Bureaux de Puzy, who having obeyed the summons of the Assembly, and being admitted to the bar, on the 29th of July, expressed his regret that the Assembly should have appeared to give any weight to the most improbable calumnies, which occasioned disputes among the Legislative Body, and attacked men of an approved patriotism.

“ If I had had the intention,” said he,
 “ of seconding my general in the enter-
 “ prise that is attributed to us, I should
 “ have thought the undertaking just; no
 “ power on earth shall prevent me from
 “ speaking the truth here.

“ I am

“ I am proceeding to tell you, gentlemen, the truth. It will appear perfectly demonstrated to you, that the project that is attributed to us is impossible, and inconceivable to every one but my calumniators.

“ I shall produce before your eyes the copies of those letters which composed the correspondence, of which I was the intermediary, between the two generals. My general has permitted me to copy them. He has, also, permitted me to reveal the plans of operations that have been executed.”

M. de Puzy then retraced the plan by which the enemy's country was attacked by the army of Marechal Luckner, while that of M. La Fayette was stationed before Mons, to act as auxiliary.

“ M. La Fayette,” continued he, “ was obliged to act that part, otherwise he would have endangered his army and
“ all

“ all France. I shall now present you
 “ with a true picture of all that has passed
 “ between Marechal Luckner and myself.

“ So soon as the events of the 20th of
 “ June were known to the army, there
 “ was but one united voice of disapproba-
 “ tion. Men, who were not to be sus-
 “ pected with regard to their patriotism or
 “ courage, came to demand of their gene-
 “ ral whether they were fighting for li-
 “ berty or anarchy. Urged by the neces-
 “ sity of dissipating all distrust and want
 “ of confidence, M. La Fayette resolved
 “ to come to Paris.

“ Before he executed that resolution, M.
 “ La Fayette sent me to M. Luckner, and
 “ charged me with a letter, in which, af-
 “ ter having submitted to the Marechal
 “ several plans of attack and defence, he
 “ acquainted him with his intentions of
 “ undertaking a journey to Paris, and
 “ asked him if he could see any inconve-
 “ nience that might attend it.

“ The Marechal appeared very much
 “ concerned about the events of the 20th
 “ of June ;—he combatted M. La Fay-
 “ ette’s intentions of going to Paris, on-
 “ ly by observing on the personal dan-
 “ gers he might run, and wrote to him,
 “ to desire him to reflect himself whe-
 “ ther his absence might not be dangerous
 “ to him.

“ About that time, when the two ar-
 “ mies were making a grand movement,
 “ M. La Fayette conceived the project
 “ of taking advantage of the moment in
 “ which the two armies would be uni-
 “ ted : he saw the possibility of attacking,
 “ at that time, the enemy at Mons. M.
 “ Luckner did not like the scheme, and
 “ M. La Fayette abandoned the idea of
 “ it.

“ There is all that has passed between
 “ Marechal Luckner and me. Judge,
 “ therefore, of my astonishment, when I
 “ heard it said, that M. Luckner had de-
 “ nounced

“nounced me as a conspirator. My asto-
 “nishment increased when I found that
 “the accusation had acquired some weight.
 “It was at its height, when I understood
 “the names and characters of those who
 “had collected the inculpation.

“If the crime, of which I am accused,
 “was probable, M. Luckner would have
 “been my accomplice, for not having de-
 “nounced,—for not having put me in a
 “state of arrest,—and for not having come
 “to an explanation with M. La Fayette.
 “But I shall relate a fact which will
 “throw some light on the dispositions of
 “M. Luckner.

“Two days after the accusation, of
 “which, it is said, he was the author, M.
 “Luckner wrote to M. La Fayette, and
 “ended his letter with these words: ‘ I
 “am informed we are to be denounced,—
 “I am in expectation of receiving further
 “information on this head; but, most cer-
 “tainly, I will live in peace, or I will re-
 “tire.”

“ tire.’ M. Luckner, in a second letter,
 “ of which the date is a little posterior,
 “ declares the same sentiments, and ex-
 “ presses the greatest indignation against
 “ the observations it was supposed he had
 “ made concerning M. La Fayette.

“ Now, gentlemen, judge me. I am
 “ not surpris’d at the audacity of my
 “ calumniators: every animal draws its
 “ nourishment from aliments that are sui-
 “ table to it; it is, therefore, that many
 “ reptiles live by poison. I hope, how-
 “ ever, that my justification will occasion
 “ some remorse in the souls of my ac-
 “ cusers.

“ But, whatever may be their audacity,
 “ I declare to them, that, being innocent,
 “ I shall never blush. They will never
 “ make that man blush, who there, in
 “ that place (pointing to the chair of the
 “ president), has had the happiness of
 “ swearing the first of every Frenchman,
 “ to defend the liberty of his country.”

M.

M. Bureaux de Puzy left the following letter on the table of the Assembly:—

Letter of M. LA FAYETTE to MARECHAL LUCKNER, at the Camp of TAINIERE, the 22d of June, 1792.

I have so many things to tell you, my dear Marechal, on our political and military situation, that I take the opportunity of sending to you Bureaux de Puzy, who, I know, enjoys your friendship and confidence, and for whom I have professed the same sentiments. Ever since I have breathed, I have lived only for the cause of liberty: I will defend it, 'till my last sigh, against every species of tyranny; and I cannot submit, in silence, to that which the factions exercise over the National Assembly and the King, by obliging the one to violate the constitution which we have all sworn to defend, and by putting the other in danger of his political and physical destruction.

Such are my sentiments,—they are those of nineteen-twentieths of the kingdom ; but they are afraid,—and, for my part, I am not acquainted with that misfortune. I shall speak the truth. With regard to the rest, my dear Marechal, I shall conduct myself according to what will appear to you most useful to your projects ; and I am very sure that, with respect to our political situation, we shall be equally united, since we both wish loyally to serve our cause, and keep our oaths.

(Signed)

LA FAYETTE.

On the 30th of July, the minister of the Interior sent the following letter from M. La Fayette to the National Assembly:—

“ If I had been asked concerning my principles, I should have answered by my conduct,—I should have attested my co-operation in the declaration of the rights of man.—But that is not the present busi-

business. I am desired to answer respecting a fact.

“ I am asked if I ever thought,—if I ever attempted to march to besiege Paris,—to quit the frontiers, to lead my army against the capital. I reply in four words : ‘ That is not true.’ ”

(Signed) LA FAYETTE,

At the Camp de Longwy,

26th July, 1792.

The following was the answer the president received to his letter, from Marechal Luckner :—

GENTLEMEN,

I feel very poignantly how distressing it is to me, not to be able to speak the language of the country I serve, and to the liberty of which I have devoted the remainder of my life. This difficulty in making myself understood, has, without
Y 4 doubt,

doubt, been the cause of the difference there is between the conversation I held at the house of the Bishop of Paris, and that which I find in the procès-verbal of the National Assembly, and the decree which has been sent to me.

Never was any proposal of marching to Paris made to me; and I assure you, gentlemen, that if such a proposal had been addressed to me, by any agent whatever of the public force, I should not have contented myself with rejecting it with horror, but I should have thought it my duty to reveal, immediately, to the constituted authorities, so criminal a project.

It is very afflicting to me, while sacrificing entirely my tranquillity and repose, to see so dreadful an interpretation of a conversation badly understood. I must confess that, being frequently called upon to answer respecting objects to which I am equally a stranger, and to which I am so little accustomed, my strength and spirits
will

will not long support it, and I shall find myself under the necessity of quitting a post which they will not suffer me to preserve.

Permit, gentlemen, an aged foreigner, but whose heart is French,—a soldier who has allied himself to your dangers, and who places all his happiness in the permanence of the public liberty,—in the maintenance of the constitution, and in your glory,—permit him to repeat to you incessantly, that the dangers which threaten the country from without, are real : but that if all France, that experiences the influence of the representatives of the people, adjourning every internal dispute, will give itself up with union to the safety of the state, the war which we have to sustain, far from conducting us to the humiliating situation of receiving laws and irons from our enemies, may turn to the advantage of the universal liberty of all the people of Europe. Such an important alternative demands some sacrifices from
all

all good Frenchmen ; and it depends only on the National Assembly to invite them to make them with success. Union will create the strength of the people,—it will increase that of the armies : union alone, by inspiring an equal contempt for intrigues and factions, will oppose a strong dike to the torrent of the combined powers, and will procure the eternal homage of posterity to those who shall have the courage of promoting, and giving the example of it.

(Signed)

LUCKNER,

I now leave the reader to judge what credit should be given to the attestations of the six Jacobin members, who asserted, that M. Luckner had declared that La Fayette had proposed to him to march with his army to Paris. It is evident, that even the Assembly themselves relied very little on their veracity, since they preferred the testimony of three persons to that of six,—seven, indeed, for M. Herault

Herault de Sechelles had made a similar attestation. Their allegations will be additionally weakened, when it is considered, that they suffered M. Luckner to depart from Paris before they made them, and that they exerted every endeavour to procure an immediate decree of accusation against La Fayette, that he might thereby be summoned to appear at the bar of the Assembly, instead of being permitted to remain with his army, and send his answer to the charges in a letter. Had La Fayette been summoned to Paris, and obeyed the summons, which, from his courage and consciousness of rectitude, they naturally concluded that he would have done, it is more than probable that he never would have had an opportunity of denying their charges, and proving their falsehood, as it is almost certain that he would immediately have been massacred. Had he been summoned, and *not* obeyed the summons, from a knowledge of the villany of his enemies, they would have advanced his refusal as a
proof

proof of his guilt, and thereby, also, have escaped detection.

It is unnecessary to dwell longer on the subject ; I shall only subjoin a letter from General Montesquiou to the friends of the constitution at Marseilles, which will not only serve as a further justification of La Fayette's principles, but will shew the union of opinion that existed among the generals of the army respecting the factions at Paris, and confirm what I have already advanced with regard to the National Assembly, the Jacobins, and the Tribunes.

*Letter of GENERAL MONTESQUIOU to the
FRIENDS of the CONSTITUTION of
MARSEILLES, (dated) 12th July.*

I have not imitated M. La Fayette ; my army has made no petition ; we have all remained in that silence which the law imposes on the armed force : my opinion, therefore, ought not to be suspected by you, for I have no personal action to justify.

But

But without being, in any degree, in the confidence of M. La Fayette, I can assure you, with certainty, that he is an excellent citizen,—that he is incapable of wishing to compound for the constitution,—that he is desirous of maintaining it in its entire state,—and that no perfidy is to be feared from him. All the calumnies, therefore, that are spread abroad concerning him, are absurd: he deserves none of them.

I will tell you, with the same truth, that the Jacobins destroy the kingdom, because they are influenced by some perverse men who govern them, and are the promoters of that division which has taken away from the kingdom the three-fourths of its strength, at the moment when it had so much need of it. If that small number of bad citizens were excluded from the Jacobins,—if the mass of good citizens could appear in their purity, the kingdom would be saved.

I regard

I regard, as well as you, the patriotic societies as the rampart of liberty ; but it is necessary to guard against an inconvenience, which depends not on their existence, but on the abuse that some people make of them. We wish to be free ; but a free people should be governed all as one,—and there is no longer any government, when all the world interfere in it. Now, the patriotic societies are all the world. The authorities constituted by the law are as necessary as the law ; for the law, without ministers, is an ideal being. If every one judge, at his will, the ministers of the law,—if he can, at every instant, denounce them at random, at one tribune or another, and, by a single denunciation, take from them all the authority the law allows them, there are no longer any means left by which the government can proceed. Such is what happens in a multitude of little towns, where there is not that knowledge which distinguishes you, and where intriguing men (perhaps all false patriots) go with impunity into their respective clubs,

clubs, to sap with safety the basis of a constitution which we have all sworn to defend, and which, in fact, has no where yet been tried,—for no where are the authorities it has created, respected or free in the exercise of their functions. Even the Legislative Power are not free in theirs: the Jacobins of Paris, and the tribunes, pass the greater number of their decrees.

If this last,—if the public danger do not rally every free man,—we are lost. The powerful enemies whom, with so much imprudence, we drew on us, while they were only murmuring against our Revolution, have only to combat men divided among themselves. They will have to contend with Jacobins, with Feuillans, with madmen, with moderators, &c. &c. for these signals of enmity are very multiplied; but they will not have to contend with Frenchmen, and it will be by our own fault if we should lose the fruits of so much labour,

This

This is what M. La Fayette ought to have seen. I presume that it is what he *has* seen. M. La Fayette could only wish to rally every party to the standard of the constitution, for his own cause is enchained to that. M. La Fayette is ambitious only of glory; he neither wishes to be protector nor dictator; he wishes to save France, and to have the honour of saving it. He thought, no doubt, that there were no other means than those he has taken,—for he deviated from his principles in taking them. There, Gentlemen, is what I think of him, and the events that have occurred.

But it is useless to discover the evil, if we seek not for the remedy. That can only proceed from the efficacious measures of those who are sure of making themselves heard. The society of the friends to the constitution of Marseilles, might cover itself with glory by giving the signal of a general union. It is necessary that the society should confine its sittings
to

to the propagation of the principles of liberty,—that it should have the courage of interdicting to itself all right of censure over the constituted authorities,—that it should close its sittings whenever a motion be made to attack them,—that it should abolish the names of sects and divisions in the popular party,—and that it should proclaim these principles throughout the kingdom.

It is then that we might hope to form an union composed of all the public authorities, supported by the whole force of all good citizens. I think that step would be efficacious, for it is all that is feared by the Aristocrats, our only, our true enemies; and of whom, I believe, from more than one reason, that the men who make so much noise at the Jacobins in Paris, are the faithful and sworn allies.

What a dreadful waking would be ours, if we should find ourselves the victims of a false zeal that had led us astray; and if,

falling under despotism, we should see our perfidious enemies triumphant ! With respect to myself, that shall never happen to me ; and if I must cease to be a free man, it is with you that I will perish, and it is under your ruins that I will be buried.

(Signed)

*The General of the army
of the South,*

A. P. MONTESQUIOU.

On the 8th of August, after a long and tumultuous debate, during which La Fayette had been loaded with every opprobrious epithet that the malice of the Jacobins could invent,—during which he had been repeatedly called, the vilest, the most horrible of men,—the violator of the constitution,—the usurper of the sovereignty,—the dictator of 1792,—the assassin of the Champ de Mars,—it was, notwithstanding these imputed crimes, decreed, by an appel nominal of 406 voices against 224, that there was no ground of accusation against him.

The

The rabble, who had so long waited with impatience for the decision of the Assembly concerning La Fayette, when they heard of the determination in his favour, were enraged to the highest pitch of fury. They crowded around the Assembly, and as the members who had voted against the accusation of La Fayette came out, they insulted them in the grossest manner, hooting, hissing, abusing them, and throwing dirt and all kinds of rubbish in their faces. Several members, during the next sitting, complained of the indignity they had experienced, but there could be no redress; their complaints were treated with the greatest contempt by the Jacobins; the mob were sovereign, and the only true judges of right and wrong.

On the next day, the 9th, the discussion of the great question, concerning the destitution of the King, was expected to take place: but the mob, on the 8th, after hearing of the acquittal of La Fayette, began to suspect that the Assembly would

not have courage enough to accomplish their wishes; and the numberless and new reports that were assiduously spread of the King's intended treachery, rendered them so impatient, that they came to a resolution, if the Assembly should appear to shuffle and delay the business, to take the law into their own hands.

One of the most malicious and important reports that had been spread by the Jacobins, to increase the fermentation of the people*, was, that a number of soldiers had been repeatedly seen to go into the Tuilleries with musquets, and come out without them,—that a vast quantity of arms, ammunition, artillery, bombs, torches, and every kind of military preparation, for the *murder* of the citizens, and the destruction and burning of Paris, were concealed in the palace,—that there were thousands lodged, equipped and armed there, to be ready, on a signal given, to
rush

* Another was, that Pétion was to be assassinated.

rush out, and, in conjunction with other Aristocrats, to assassinate the Patriots.

The King, having been informed of this report, immediately published a proclamation, wherein he invited the mayor and the municipal officers, and any other persons whatever whom the Assembly should choose to appoint, to come to his palace, and make the strictest search into every part of it, that, by a conviction or the falsity of the report, the terrors of the people, and their distrust of their King, might be removed.

Accordingly, the mayor, the municipal officers, and the other persons appointed for that business, went to the palace, and, as one would naturally suppose, made the strictest search.—They found not the slightest indication of all those great and warlike preparations that were supposed to have been made there ; they found not the smallest part of that vast quantity of arms,

ammunition, artillery, &c. that was supposed to be concealed in the palace.

This circumstance will be of the greatest consequence in establishing the degree of credit that ought to be given to the profligate reports, propagated by the murderers of the 10th of August, respecting the treacherous intentions of the King : it may not, therefore, be unnecessary to dwell a little on this subject ; and as many things are alledged by the Patriots to palliate the excesses of the mob, the truth of which, perhaps, will never, with certainty, be ascertained, it is but fair to endeavour to counteract any misrepresentation of facts, by such arguments as will, at least, prove the improbability, if not the impossibility, of many circumstances they attribute to the King's party.

A report, as has been observed, had gone abroad, that warlike preparations were making in the King's palace. The King invited the municipal officers to make the strictest

strictest search. They went to the palace. If they *did* make the strictest search, as they undoubtedly ought to have done, they found nothing that could, in the least degree, authorize or justify the report of the King's intended treachery. The King, therefore, must, in this case, evidently stand acquitted of the murderous intentions ascribed to him: for arms and artillery could not have been used in the palace, unless such arms and artillery had actually *been there*; nor could they have been supplied with ammunition from the palace, unless such ammunition had actually *been in the palace*; and if arms, artillery and ammunition *had been* in the palace, and the municipal officers *had* made the strictest search, they must have found them. Again, it may reasonably be supposed that M. Petion, from the enmity he bore to the King, and from the anxiety he must have felt to have discovered the least proof of his treachery, *would have made* the strictest search, and would not have left the smallest part of the palace unexamined.

If M. Petion and the municipal officers did *not* make the strictest search, M. Petion did not do his duty, and it would have been *his* fault and *his* treachery to the nation, if cannon had been subsequently used: for a search that could not discover cannon and ammunition (had they been in the palace), must have been no search at all. M. Petion's business was not to look for papers, but for arms and artillery: artillery could not have been kept in drawers and closets, which he must have known, and consequently, if he did not search those places in which they *could* have been concealed, the neglect must have been purposed on his side; for, after having been invited by the King, thoroughly to examine the palace, he had no excuse for not doing so. He could not say, in defence of any such neglect, that the court had not opened every door, because he ought to have demanded the opening of every door; and if that demand had not been complied with, the refusal would have given him good grounds for suspicion, and he might have

have acted accordingly. But no such refusal took place; because, wherever he presented himself, the doors were immediately opened, and every part of the palace was voluntarily submitted, by the King's commands, to his inspection.

It was well known to M. Petion, that there were no cannon whatever lawfully belonging to the palace or to the Swiss guards; if, therefore, a single piece of cannon, or any ammunition for artillery, had been found in the palace, there would then have been some presumption of the King's military dispositions, and it is not to be supposed that such a discovery would have escaped publication from M. Petion: but nothing that had the least appearance of extraordinary preparations for offence or defence was found.

Besides, I should be glad to be informed by the Patriots, who have so violently exclaimed against the treachery of the unfortunate Swiss, how the cannon were pro-

procured, which, as they pretend to suppose, were fired on the citizens from a masked battery, on the 10th of August, setting aside the improbability of their being there after M. Petion's examination of the palace? They will not, surely, pretend to advance, that the King made them : but how they, otherwise, could be procured, will be a subject of equal difficulty to adjust.

After M. Petion had searched the palace, he published the procès-verbal of the interior state of it; but maliciously refused to *answer for any thing*, with an intention, no doubt, of insinuating to the people that all the doors of the palace had not been opened to him, and that the reports of the military preparations might still be well grounded. It may naturally be imagined, therefore, that the examination of the palace did not much contribute to remove the suspicions of the populace;—but, in the eyes of every reasonable man, it will serve as a vindication of the King from the very heavy charges that had been already,

ready,

ready, and were afterwards adduced against him.

On the 9th of August, the National Assembly raised the indignation of the mob to its height, by shewing an inclination to prolong the discussion concerning the destitution of the King, which the populace thought should be decided on in an instant. The fermentation increased every moment in a dreadful manner. M. Roederer appeared at the bar of the Assembly, and informed them of his fears, that a violent commotion would soon take place. The mayor declared to them, that he could not answer for the tranquillity of the city after midnight. Every body knew that there was an intention of beating the general and ringing the tocsin* at that hour, to rouse the citizens to arms, and to attack the palace.

The

* The tocsin is a church bell, which, being rung in a particular manner, constitutes the alarm, and the signal for general insurrection.

The reader will naturally be anxious to know what steps the Assembly took to *prevent* the intended disorders.

They agreed to hold *no* sitting in the evening!—This needs no comment.

I have already mentioned that the National Assembly had, a day or two before this period, insisted that two battalions of the regiment of Swiss guards should be sent away from Paris; but the reader is not, therefore, to conclude that the whole of the regiment was actually in Paris: a principal part of it was in garrison at Courbevoie, about two leagues from the city. The number of Swiss that were in the King's palace on the 9th of August, and the morning of the 10th, were about six hundred and fifty;—it is certain that they did not exceed seven hundred.

I must beg leave, before I proceed further, to call to the recollection of the reader,]

reader, the insults that some National Guards of the battalion des Filles St. Thomas had received from the Marseillois on their first arrival,—the disregard that had been shewn by the Assembly to the petition of their being sent away,—and also, the demands of the Marseillois that the Etat Major, to whom many of the battalions were attached, should be dismissed. These circumstances, added to many others*, which occasionally had taken place, had irritated a great part of the National Guards against the federates and their proceedings, and also against the Jacobin part of the Assembly.

It should further be observed, in order to give a proper idea of the true state of Paris, on the 9th and 10th of August, (and I think it may be mentioned without any strong

* One of which was, that after the petition had been presented, requesting that the Marseillois should be sent away, and after they had absolutely refused to go, the National Assembly should have decreed, that they should be allowed thirty sols a day while they remained in Paris,

strong inculcation of the persons concerned) that several battalions of the National Guards were avowedly attached to the King, and, consequently, averse to his being dethroned. This; I presume, may have been the case, without any bribery or corruption on the part of the King; especially, when it is considered, that many of the battalions were composed of men, who, in their private capacities, had suffered very materially from the anarchy and confusion that had so long reigned in Paris, and to which they saw no prospect of an end, but rather of an increase, from the success of the intentions of the rabble.

The minority of the Assembly, it was well known, were aristocrats*; the bulk of

* I use this word for conciseness; it is to be taken in the Parisian sense: when, therefore, the word "aristocrat" occurs, it is to be taken as a compound term,—signifying men who were averse to anarchy, and the tyranny of the rabble,—who respected the laws, the constitution, and the King,—who wished to preserve to each of the constituted
author-

of respectable citizens were the same†; but they were fearful of declaring their senti-

authorities, its due force,—who were the enemies of the Jacobins, and the friends to good order and subordination. I shall in future, perhaps, be under the necessity of comprehending in the term “aristocrat” all gentlemen whatever, every man wearing a clean shirt, a decent coat, a watch, or a pair of silver buckles: at present, the former definition of the word will suffice. As the term will be found to vary very much in its signification, and become more and more comprehensive, I shall take the liberty of reminding the reader of the ideas it is occasionally to convey.

† I seldom went into any reputable shop in Paris, without making particular endeavours to discover the political opinion of the master. The tradesmen, in general, upon the slightest encouragement, discovered themselves to be aristocrats, and seemed eagerly to catch at the opportunity of fighting in safety over the calamities of their country,—a privilege, that in public was denied to them. A short time after the 20th of June, the aristocratic party were very strong and bold; pocket-books, snuff-boxes, fans, &c. bearing aristocratic emblems and inscriptions, were publicly and safely exposed to sale. Having in a shop, one day, taken up a fan, on which were the pictures of the royal family, I observed to the master, that I supposed fans so ornamented were not much used now;—“O yes!” replied he, “indeed they are! Un moment—” added he, fighting, “and it is to be hoped, that the originals will be as great as ever!” In another shop, having observed on a
snuff-

sentiments publicly. It is needless to observe, that every one attendant and dependant on the court, were attached to the King. There was also a large party of aristocrats, composed of the *ci-devant* chevaliers, of different orders, (now called the Chevaliers du Poignard,) of independent gentlemen, and others: nor were there wanting aristocrats among the lower order of tradesmen, and the honest and industrious workmen.

These

snuff-box the picture of the King, and under it his observation to M. Petion on the 20th of June, ("The man that has a pure conscience, knows no fear nor regret!") I asked the proprietor if he were not an aristocrat. "Yes, Sir!" replied he, "indeed I am; and I think most of us have good reason for being so!" I could mention a hundred other circumstances of a similar nature, were it necessary. However, when the Marseillois arrived, they suffered no such aristocratic emblems to be exposed to sale. I shall mention a trifling occurrence, which took place after they had come to Paris:—as I was one day entering the Palais Royal, I observed a party of female shopkeepers in deep conversation; some federates had just passed: what had happened I cannot pretend to say; but I heard one of the females exclaim,—“Well! if this is liberty, make *me* a slave!”

These observations will serve to account for some separations from what was called the common cause, on the 10th of August; and which, for a short time, threatened to impede the success of it.

I shall now proceed to the relation of the events that took place on that memorable day.

As it was well known that the general insurrection was to take place at midnight, every body was in alarm; each armed himself in the best manner he could;—friends collected together,—some for their own protection,—some to join the *common cause*,—others in hopes of having an opportunity of opposing it openly. They, who were particularly and courageously attached to the King, flew to the palace, resolving to defend and protect, or die with him; for it was generally supposed that he would not outlive the next day.

The leaders of the Jacobins, and the patriots of the sections, were employed, in the mean time, in forming a plan for the sudden dismissal of all the aristocrats from every civil and military power, and the disposal of every authority among the most determined patriots.

The King sent emissaries continually into the different fauxbourgs, to examine into the state of the capital. The informations they returned with served only to increase his alarm. He sent for the mayor, to consult with him on the best means of restoring tranquillity.

The mayor arrived at the palace; but nothing was to be hoped from his influence over the populace. It was then proposed, that he should be kept there as an hostage: this was agreed to. The department, finding that no steps had been taken by the Assembly or the municipality to secure the peace, ordered out a party of grenadiers and chasseurs of the National
Guards,

Guards, on whom they thought they could best rely, to defend the palace.

The clock struck twelve :—immediately the tocsin and the general were heard in many sections, principally in the faubourgs Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau. The bells on the Pont Neuf struck up Ça ira. The Marseillois and the Bretons, in an instant, obeyed the summons, and were not long alone : the rabble flew to arms, and repaired to the different corps-de-garde : some went to the place of the commons, where the council-general were assembled. Petion was not there ; and his absence occasioned the greatest inquietude among his party, which the municipal officers increased, by telling them where he was. Several groups immediately ran to the National Assembly, where some of the members had already arrived. The populace dispatched messengers to all the Jacobin party, to require their instant attendance. They came ; and, the number for opening the sitting being complete, the

tribunes demanded and obtained a decree, insisting that the King should immediately release M. Petion. The order was sent to the palace ; and, notwithstanding the rebellious proceedings that were, at the moment, going on in Paris, and threatening the destruction of the King and his family, it was punctually obeyed, and M. Petion was given up. He appeared at the bar, and was, afterwards, amidst the loudest acclamations, led back to the commons by the populace.

The mob were now parading the streets in different parties, increasing their numbers as they gathered in their adherents from all parts.

In this state of universal insurrection, it is natural to suppose that none, who were likely to be at all concerned in its consequences, would remain perfectly quiet. Many, without being actively engaged on either side, might, from anxiety or curiosity, have been walking about, to observe
what

what was going on ; and as few, at such a perilous period, would have chosen to walk alone, a party of twenty or thirty persons might have been assembled, without any hostile intentions. This, however, the mob did not choose to think could be the case ; for, having met with a party of twenty or thirty men*, whom they considered to be, and who really were aristocrats, they immediately surrounded them, made them prisoners, and, having

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* I cannot pretend to be exact with respect to the *number* of these unfortunate men, as the accounts varied very much on that point : it may, however, safely be believed, that their number exceeded twenty, but not thirty. They were, undoubtedly, attached to the royal cause. They were armed : but whether or not they intended to take an active part, is not therefore certain ; for at this period, few walked the streets, even in the day-time, unarmed. But it is probable that they *had* such intentions, in conjunction with a multitude of others, who were similarly inclined, but who, from some circumstances, were prevented from putting their purposes into execution. The instruments by which these men suffered, were, in general, sabres sharpened on the stones : but one of them was condemned to writhe under the torture of having his head hacked off with a gardener's spade !

hurried them to the place de Vendôme, executed nine on the spot, delivered their heads to boys to be carried about on pikes, and the rest they confined in a guard-house near the National Assembly, from whence they were taken in the morning and massacred.

Another party, consisting of two or three hundred, attached to the royal cause, patrolled, during the night, in the environs of the Théâtre François : it was supposed that their intentions were to have joined a detachment of the battalion of Henry the Fourth on the Pont Neuf, to attack Petion and the Marseillois, encamped on the Pont Saint Michael. The assemblies of the section, therefore, decreed, that Petion should remain in the council-hall, with a guard of four hundred citizens, who should answer for his life and safety,

M. Petion had, after his return from the palace, made a very heavy complaint against M. Mandat, commandant-general
of

of the National Guard, who, he said, had treated him with great indignity, as he was coming from the palace to go to the National Assembly. This complaint was the signal for a general change of power, which instantly took place. M. Mandat was arrested and put in prison,—the sections administered the business of the commons, provisionally, by commissaries,—the whole of the Etat Major were immediately dismissed,—the most determined Jacobins were appointed to command,—and Santerre was made commandant-general of all the troops in Paris. The mayor, Manuel, and his colleague, were the only men considered desperate enough to remain in the municipality: all the other officers belonging to it were discarded, and the most notoriously factious were substituted in their stead,

While these measures were being taken at the commons, the rabble were gathering together from the different fauxbourgs, and proceeding to the Place de Caroussel,

(adjoining the palace) armed with all sorts of weapons. The battalions began to be formed, with their cannon * at their head. Santerre, having obtained the power he had so long wished for, determined to exercise it with efficacy: he accordingly dispatched a messenger to Essonne, near which town was a powder magazine, for ammunition for the National Guards, and the cannon and fusils of the rabble and the federates. As there was a scarcity of ammunition in Paris, and as the rebels were determined to do their business effectually, they found themselves obliged to wait 'till the supply should arrive; and a party of them amused themselves, in the mean time, with the execution I have before described, and with carrying in procession the

* When the rabble were proceeding to the attack of the Bastile, in July, 1789, they took possession of the cannon of the Invalids, which, after that memorable event, were consigned to them as the reward of their heroism. By this, and the plunder of the arsenals, the rabble were furnished with artillery and arms, which they have kept ever since, and used for so many glorious purposes.

the heads of the unfortunate men, to stimulate the fury of their fellow rabble, and accustom them to the sight of blood.

While these things were going on, the battalion of Henry the Fourth, having got possession of the Pont Neuf, declared themselves against the rebels, and went so far as to point a part of their artillery against the Rue Dauphine, and on the side where the Marseillois had collected. The rabble from the fauxbourg St. Germain, did not choose to dispute with them the passage of the bridge, nor did the Marseillois so far lose sight of their principal object, as to think it worth while to attack them, or to throw themselves in their way; they, therefore, proceeded to the place de Caroussel, by the rue St. Honoré.

While all Paris was in this state of fermentation, it is natural to suppose that the King went not to bed: as the design of the attack was evidently on the side of the rebels, he cannot be blamed, by any
reason-

reasonable man, for doing every thing in his power to defend himself; and as he could not know at what instant the attack would begin, he had not a moment to lose from endeavouring to secure the fidelity of the Swiss and National Guards, who had been drawn up to protect the palace. On the fidelity of the Swiss he could rely, as well as on the different friends who had, in this moment of danger, collected about his person. The grenadiers and chasseurs, National Guards, had promised to defend him to the last. About six o'clock in the morning he went to them in the Prince's Court, and reviewed them: they attended him back to his apartments, assuring him of their fidelity, and crying, *Vive le Roi!*

Before the arrival of the Marseillois and the most determined rebels at the court gate of the palace, a crowd of people presented themselves. Some Swiss Guards demanded what they wanted? They replied, that they wished to enter. The Swiss informed them that they could not enter

enter unless they would promise to cry, *Vive le Roi!* A great number of them * immediately exclaimed, *Vive le Roi!* and were answered by the Swiss Guards, the grenadiers and chasseurs from within, by an universal, and the same shout. The Swiss were hesitating about their admission, when a loud cry of *Vive la Nation!* was

* What were the intentions of these men will, perhaps, never perfectly be ascertained. They could not, however, be to begin the attack of the palace, for they were without the efficient arms, and without commanders; nor could these people have any idea of commencing hostilities by themselves, while such vast preparations were making by the rebels for a regular and complete assault. It is, therefore, more than probable, that this party was chiefly composed of men who were attached to the constitution and the King, and who wished to be admitted to assist in defending the palace from the invasion of the mob. It is very certain that there was a very large party in Paris, and, I believe I may say with truth, a very great majority of citizens on the King's side, who, had there been the least prospect of success on the part of the unfortunate and brave Swiss, would have immediately declared themselves: but they were without leaders; and having been prevented from avowing their sentiments openly, they had not an opportunity of uniting against the rebels, and erecting the standard of royalty.

was heard in the place de Caroufel, and approached the gate with continual repetitions ;—it was the cry of the fauxbourgs. They demanded admittance, which was refused. They persevered in their tumultuous cries, and were at last joined in them by some of the National Guards in the palace, who, from what cause cannot be ascertained, now exclaimed, “ vive la Nation !”

The King, soon afterwards, ordered a party of Swiss and National Guards to escort him, the Queen, the Dauphin, Madam Elizabeth, and the Princess de Lamballe, to the National Assembly, where, having seated himself on the left-hand of the president, (his family being at the bar) he observed, that he had come there, in hopes of preventing a great crime.

What could have been the motives for this part of the King's conduct, every one must be at a loss to determine. He could not have fled to the National Assembly

sembly for an asylum for his crown; for he must have known that the majority were resolved on his destruction; and his past conduct would, I should think, secure him from the imputation of having taken this step from a regard to his personal safety. As a King, certain of the protection of his faithful guards, and promised it by several battalions* of national troops, on whom he would have been reasonably justified in his reliance,—as a King, conscious, as he must have been, that the majority of the nation and the capital were averse to the proceedings of the rabble, and looked to him for an example they might follow, he was inexcusable. Humanity may, perhaps, find some means of justifying his conduct as a man, a husband, a father, and a brother. He may have reflected, that the defence of the palace could not have been effectually accom-

* The battalions des Filles Saint Thomas, du Louvre, des Petits Peres, and de Henri Quatre, the last of which was ordered to the palace, after the dispositions it had made against the rabble.

complished without much bloodshed, and thought that, by removing himself from it, the mob would not persevere in their resolutions of attacking it, when he, their principal object, was no longer there. He might have considered the safety of the Queen, the Dauphin, his daughter and his sister, as having stronger claims on his feelings than the defence of his person, his interests, or his property. But, whatever were his motives, it is certain that, on the score of policy, they cannot be justified ; and his retreat may probably, with justice, be ascribed to one of those momentary impulses of high-wrought sensation, to which prudence, reason and judgment sometimes submit ; and from which, no human being is, on every occasion, capable of guarding himself.

The King, having remained a short time by the side of the president, observed, that he prevented the deliberations of the Assembly, and passed over to his family at the bar. Still, however, his presence impeded their proceeding to business : he, therefore,
 was

was again obliged to change his situation, and went into the room of the tachigraphs, with his family.

In the mean time, the people continued incessantly to ring the tocsin, and beat the general; the uproar was increasing, and threatened an immediate explosion; immense crowds pressed round the Assembly, demanding the instantaneous dethronement of the King; the tribunes, by their tumultuous conduct, seemed determined that no debate should take place on the subject, but that the words only, “ the King is dethroned ” should be pronounced. Their alarmed representatives, yielding to the necessity of the case, assured the tribunes that the desired decree was about to be pronounced; and the president, having called them to order, and procured a tolerable degree of silence, the Assembly, in frightened haste, on the report of M. Vergniaud, declared—

“ The

“ The National Assembly, considering
 “ that the distrusts of the executive pow-
 “ er are the sources of all our evils,--that
 “ these distrusts have provoked, from all
 “ parts of the kingdom, the wish of re-
 “ voking the authority given to Louis the
 “ Sixteenth by the constitution ;—

“ That the only means of conciliating
 “ what they owe to the welfare of the
 “ people, and what they owe to their
 “ oaths not to increase their power, are
 “ to refer to the sovereign authority of
 “ the nation, decree as follows :—

ART. I. The French people are invited to
 form a National Convention : the com-
 mittee shall, to-morrow, propose a plan
 to indicate the model and period of this
 Convention.

II. The executive power is provisionally
 suspended from his functions, until the
 National Convention shall have decreed
 the measures necessary to be taken for
 main-

maintaining the national independence. By an amendment adopted, the civil list is suspended, and the committee shall indicate the sum that the Legislative Body ought to assign for the subsistence of the King and his family.

III. The six ministers, now in activity, shall exercise the executive power: the extraordinary committee shall present, during the day, a plan for the organisation of the ministry.

IV. The extraordinary commission shall present a plan of a decree, for the nomination of a governor for the Prince Royal.

V. The King and the royal family shall remain with the Legislative Body: the department shall order a lodging to be prepared, during the day, at the Luxembourg, to receive the King and his family.

VI. The King and his family are placed under the safe-guard of the law, and their guard intrusted to the National Guard of Paris.

VII. All public functioners, officers or soldiers, who shall quit their posts, shall be declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

VIII. The department shall order the present decree to be proclaimed during the day.

IX. The present decree shall be sent, during the day, to the eighty-three departments, by extraordinary couriers.

The National Assembly had not completed the above decrees, when the firing of cannon was heard; the alarmed representatives immediately started up, and began to dispute with each other who should be first out of the hall*. The president,

* One of the patriotic papers was suppressed for having observed, that the members of the Assembly disputed with each other the honour of first running away.

fidant, finding himself likely to be left alone, called to them, and reminded them, that, whatever was the danger, they were at their proper posts. This remonstrance had the desired effect on a great number of the members, although many persisted in securing their own personal safety, rather than run any risque in preserving the remains of a constitution, which they had but a few moments before wounded in its most vital part.

It was not long before they who remained in the Assembly, were informed of the cause of what had so much alarmed them. The loud and repeated cries of “ To arms ! To arms ! We are betrayed ! “ The Swifs are firing on the citizens ! “ They have already killed an hundred “ Marseillois ! ” soon resounded in their ears,—the firing of cannon and musquetry continued,—the tribunes rushed out of the galleries, and left their alarmed representatives, confined, through fear of shame, to a perplexed and tumultuous sitting.

About half after ten o'clock, all the rebels had assembled in the place de Caroufel, the Marseillois at their head, to whom, as the most desperate and determined, the cannon of the fauxbourgs had been principally assigned. The ammunition from Essonne had just arrived. They marched with order and regularity, —advanced to the court gate eight in front, with their cannon, and summoned the Swiss within to open it, which being refused, a gun was fired against the palace, from the further part of the place de Caroufel ; but, being elevated to avoid the caserns of the Swiss, the ball struck the upper part of the palace, and recoiled, having done no execution. Several others were immediately fired without effect ; when the Marseillois, growing impatient, burst open the court-gate with their cannon, and entered, crying, *Vive la Nation !* This action was accompanied with the loudest acclamations of the populace, in the place de Caroufel, and followed by an irregular discharge of musquetry against the

the windows of the palace (which was at the same time attacked at the south end by cannon and musquetry, from the Pont Royal). The greater part of the Swiss Guards* were in the apartments of the palace, as were some of the National Guards. Others of the National Guards were drawn up, with their cannon, in a line before the palace; and others, with the remaining platoons of Swiss, were planted on each side of the court. The Marseillois continued to advance, followed by the battalion des Cordeliers, and an immense multitude of pikemen at their heels. They continued crying out, *Vive la Nation!* and summoned the palace to surrender; which summons being answered from the palace, by the cries of *Vive le Roi!* they began the attack. The Swiss and National Guards received immediate orders to fire. The former instantly obeyed; and a heavy discharge of well-directed

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* The Swiss wore a scarlet regimental; the National Guards a blue one.

musquetry, from all parts of the palace, and the Swiss in the court, did dreadful execution amongst the rebels : but the National Guards in the courts, who had promised the Swiss faithfully to protect them, refused to fire ; and, excepting some grenadiers of the Battalion des Filles Saint Thomas, and some other individuals of them, who remained faithful to their promise, wheeled about and joined the rebels. The cannoniers also deserted their posts : but as they could not use their cannon with effect against the palace, they joined the rabble with their sabres. On the first fire from the Swiss, the National Guards, who had come into the court with the rebels, attempted to run away ; but being prevented from escaping, by the torrent that poured into the court, they found themselves obliged to return and join the conflict. The Marseillois, on the contrary, stood firm ; and although near an hundred of them had fallen by the first fire of the Swiss, their posts were supplied without the least fear or delay ; and they

main.

maintained their ground, and fought with a degree of fortitude and intrepidity, that would have done them the highest honour in a nobler cause. The battle now became general and terrible. The palace was attacked on all sides, and defended with equal perseverance by all who were within. The National Guards within the palace, so long as they could hope for victory, continued to defend the Swiss. The palace was cannonaded on all sides*, from the gardens, the Pont Royal, the Place de Caroufel, and the Princes' Court; but the artillery, consisting only of three and four pounders, did little or no execution: the musquetry also of the rabble had as slight an effect; they in the apartments being defended by the strong walls, and they who were at first in the courts, having retired into their caserns, and firing from

B b 4

them;

* A boat load and two cart loads of ammunition were sent from Essonne to Paris in the morning, by order of Santerre, for the artillery of the rabble and the National Guards, and fresh orders were continually being sent,

them; while the continual discharge of musquetry from the windows of the palace, caused a dreadful and extensive slaughter; and men, women and children, confounded in the general carnage, fell by hundreds.

The Marseillois and the Bretons, although they saw their comrades falling in great numbers around them, maintained the attack with amazing boldness, but made no progress: ten, at least, of their own party, fell to one on the other side, and victory seemed beyond their reach; but they were resolved to set the example of persevering intrepidity to the immense crowds about them, whose numbers must eventually have ensured success, had all the leaders of the attack perished in their attempt. They were, however, in a short time, very effectually reinforced: the cavalry of the National Gendarmerie rushed in to their assistance, poured down upon the caserns of the Swiss with torches, and set fire to them. The Swiss so well defended their
little

little barracks, that forty horses, and five and twenty of the gendarmerie, fell in the attack. They could not so well resist the fire which flamed around them: they found themselves obliged to attempt to escape and gain the palace. It was here that the pikemen embraced the opportunity of displaying their ferocity. As the guards, pressed by the raging element, endeavoured to avoid the fire by getting out at the windows of their caserns, these horrid wretches pushed them back into the flames with their pikes. Some, however, with the brave National Guards who had remained faithful to them, escaped this torture, and endeavoured to fight their way into the palace. The contest now became unequal on their side; they had only their bayonets and sabres to defend them, while the rebels were plentifully supplied with ammunition of all kinds. — The confusion occasioned by National Guards fighting on both sides, and the general tumult and disorder that prevailed, gave rise to many fatal mistakes, National Guards,

Guards, on each side, fell by the hands of their own party. It was not so with the brave Swifs, who were fufficiently diftinguifhed by their red coats; and thofe who had fled from their caferns were flaughtered and mangled in the moft fhocking manner,

The Swifs in the apartments feeing what was going on in the court, and finding their ammunition nearly exhausted, refolved to defcend and take poffeffion of the cannon of the rebels. They accordingly formed themfelves, and made a desperate fally: they repulſed the rabble with great flaughter,—took poffeffion of three cannon, and turned them againſt the mob, but having no matches, they fired them with the flints of their muſquets. This diſcharge did great execution: but they had no ſooner defcended, than the National Guards, who had been with them in the palace, and who had before fought on their ſide, (imagining, perhaps, that there were no longer any hopes of their ſucceſs,

success, and wishing to conciliate the favour of the rebels) turned their arms against them, and fired at them from the windows. The Swiss, however, pursued the rebels beyond the place de Caroussel, where they took possession of two more cannons; but, having now exhausted all their ammunition, and finding the torrent of people incessantly pouring in upon them on all sides, and overwhelming them, they were obliged to attempt a retreat, and endeavour to fight their way back to the palace; but in this attempt, they were soon divided and dispersed. There now remained not the least shadow of successful opposition; the greater part of them had fallen in the bloody conflict, and the rest knew that they had nothing to expect from the mercy of the rabble. They separated, and fled different ways to hide themselves from their resistless fury.—Some, having made their way into the palace, endeavoured to conceal themselves in different parts of it,—and others, who had been wounded during the attack, still remained

remained in it. The friends of the King, his attendants, his servants, and all who had been in the palace before the conflict began, were still there, excepting a few only who had contrived to escape during the general confusion. The mob soon got possession of the palace, and a horrid carnage was begun in the interior parts of it. Every one there found, armed or unarmed, was immediately sacrificed without discrimination or pity. The vestibule, the great staircase, the chapel, all the antichambers, all the galleries, the audience and council halls, over-run in a moment by the rabble, were flowing with the blood of the Swiss, and the friends and attendants of the King, and strewed with their dead bodies. The mob penetrated into every part of the palace, and searched in every place for victims. An abbé, tutor to the Dauphin, had concealed eight persons in his apartment, in a large press, of which, unfortunately, he held the keys in his hand, when they came to his rooms to seek for food for their barbarity. They ques-

questioned him with the most horrid imprecations: his embarrassed answers frustrated his humane intentions. They took from him the keys, opened the press, and having discovered what they called his treachery, they murdered him, and those whom he had in vain endeavoured to hide from their brutality.

Some had attempted to conceal themselves on the roof of the palace: they were seen by the rebels in the courts, who called to their fellows in the apartments to inform them of it: hundreds instantly ran up,—the unfortunate fugitives were surrounded,—some were murdered on the spot,—others were thrown over the battlements to the rabble in the courts, who finished their existence by mangling them with swords and pikes, or throwing them into the fire of the caserns. Neither the kitchens nor the cellars, nor any part whatever of the palace, escaped their strictest search. Every one they met, men, women and children, from the highest attendant

tendant to the lowest scullion, shared the same fate,—butchered in the most shocking manner : their crime was—being in the palace.

But the massacre was not confined to one spot ; the unfortunate Swiss were pursued and hunted like wild beasts, wherever they had fled for shelter. In the gardens of the Tuilleries, in the Elysian Fields, in the woods, on the Quais,—every where some victims fell. Nor was the fury of the mob confined to those who had endeavoured to defend the palace ; they carried their barbarous cruelty so far as to murder every Swiss, of whatever occupation, they could find : the porters of the palace, of hotels and churches, were murdered, with their wives and children, without mercy or regard to innocence.

About sixty or seventy of these unfortunate men had surrendered to the National Guards, under promise of mercy, and had suffered themselves to be conducted to the
com-

commons, where they were assured that they should have a fair trial. A few questions were asked, and it was determined by the magistrates that they should be sent to prison until further examination. The mob, however, were resolved to take the law, and the execution of it, into their own hands : accordingly, as they descended, the Swiss were torn from the guards, one by one, and shot or cut down by the rabble, endeavouring to rival each other in the excellence of slaughter and decapitation, and laughing at, and ridiculing the tortures of the victims.

M. Clermont Tonnerre was arrested in his chariot, in the street de Sèves Saint Germain, by the mob, dragged out of it, and executed on the spot. This gentleman, although he had not been in the palace, was suspected of Aristocracy : no farther excuse for any species of barbarity was wanting.

Some

Some of the rabble went to the house of M. d'Affry, the gentleman who had made some observations to the King, which prevented the immediate dismissal of the Swiss battalions, to search for him. He fled on their approach, but was taken in the street des Petits Augustins. A strong party of National Guards surrounded, and with much trouble conducted him safe to the prison of the Abbaye; where, however, he afterwards fell a victim to the fury of the mob.

One of the unfortunate Swiss, flying from his pursuers on the Pont Neuf, and seeing before him another party of rabble advancing, leaped over the battlements into the river. The insatiate wretches fired at him as he swam; and, at last, their revenge was gratified, by killing him in the water.

A large detachment of National Guards, pikemen and others, had been sent to intercept the Swiss from Courbevoie, who had

had been ordered to come to Paris to defend the palace : the two parties met at the further end of the Elyſian Fields. The Swiſs were ſoon informed of what was going on in Paris, and ordered to lay down their arms and return, which they, at firſt, reſuſed to do ; but being ſaluted by the rebels with a diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry, they yielded to ſuperior power, and fled.

When the maſſacre of every one found in the palace was entirely completed, the mob began to pillage it : but, although they brought ſome part of the money, jewels and plate to the National Aſſembly, who received theſe rebels, murderers and plunderers with ſhouts of approbation and applauſe, it is very certain, that three fourths, at leaſt, of the King's property, was ever after miſſing. It is but juſtice, however, to the prime rebels, to aſſert, that they would not ſuffer every one indifcriminately to ſhare in the ſpoil : for, having caught ſeveral, as they ſaid, in the

act of thieving, to shew their detestation of dishonesty, they murdered them on the spot; not considering, perhaps, that the act of robbery consisted essentially in taking away the property from the person to whom it lawfully belonged; and that they themselves, and the National Assembly, the receivers of the stolen goods, were as culpable, and deserved as much punishment, as the unfortunate victims of their exclusive villany. The chief part of the property found in the palace belonged to the King and Queen, as individual citizens; and so long as that is withheld from them, the persons so withholding it are, as well as the persons who first stole it, guilty of the most atrocious dishonesty.

But the few imputed thieves who fell in the palace, were not the only ones whom the sentimental delicacy of the rebels sacrificed in the support of their characters: very near an hundred more, whom nobody knew, were murdered, during the course of the day, the night, and the next morning;

ing; while the honest men thought it no discredit to riot in the King's kitchens and cellars, feasting upon his provisions, and intoxicating themselves with his wine.

It is with a very increased degree of horror that I find myself obliged to relate, that, during these dreadful transactions, the female furies (for they cannot be called women) of Paris seemed anxious for a supereminence in barbarity: the refinements on torture, and the excesses of inhumanity, fell principally to their part. One of the unfortunate Swiss flying from his pursuers, met one of these furies at the head of a banditti, and, recollecting her as a former acquaintance, he indulged some hopes of her protection: he advanced to her, and observed, that, having had the pleasure of being acquainted with her at such a time and place, he hoped that, from the recollection of a former friendship, she would be good enough to save him. "Yes!" replied she, "I know you, and I will save
cc 2 "you."

“ you.” He advanced to thank her ; she cut him with a sabre till he died.

When all in and about the palace had been murdered, and the rabble had no longer an opportunity of seeing the blood flow from a living being,—a second scene of barbarity, still more shocking than the first, took place. The dead bodies of the Swiss were stripped, and their clothes, dipped in the still warm blood, distributed about as trophies of the glorious victory. Many of the bodies were cut limb from limb, and flesh from bone ; and, according to the different inclinations of the murderers, each took a hand, a heart, a head, or a piece of flesh, to carry about on a bayonet, in sanguinary and diabolical triumph. They, who in the hurry of slaughter had been left with some remains of life, were thrown while living into the flames, amidst the horrid imprecations of a mob, rejoicing in the varied torture ; while those bodies, that had remained whole in limb, were mangled in the most shocking and
bru-

brutal manner. Some of the females went so far, as to cut off pieces of flesh, chew them, and suck the blood, praising its delicious taste. Numerous other barbarities, still more revolting to humanity, were practised with infernal boldness, ridiculing the laws of nature, and braving the vengeance of the supreme Being, which are infinitely too shocking to be related.

What a dreadful sight was Paris, but particularly the spots where the massacres had principally taken place, on the evening of the 10th of August! All the shops, windows and doors, were shut up; the streets were filled with men and women in arms, bearing their bleeding and bloody trophies. Some seeming lifeless, from the excess of drunkenness, still grasping their streaming sabres, lay wallowing in the effects of their own beastliness. Boys and girls were seen here and there, initiated into their parents' crimes, quarrelling for a head, an arm, a piece of flesh, or a remnant of a Swiss's clothing that had been thrown

among them for a scramble*. The Place de Caroufel was like a vast furnace: to enter the palace on that side, it was necessary to pass through two long piles of building, inflamed from one end to the other, to tread on burning marl or mangled carcases. The palace presented another dreadful spectacle; battered, though not materially injured, by the cannon of the rebels, its windows broken, and part of its demolished furniture still hanging from them: but nothing could be more shocking than the appearance of the vestibule, the staircase, the chapel, and all the apartments. The walls were besmeared with blood, rubbed from the murderers' over-glutted hands,—the wainscots broken,—and the pictures, glasses, and every other ornament, shattered into a thousand pieces. The floors were covered with mangled bodies, most of them
naked,

* Two female furies, quarrelling for a handkerchief that had been dipped in the blood of a Swiss, and neither of them getting the advantage of the other, each put an end in her mouth, and sucked the blood, contending who should have the greater share.

naked, with divided limbs, with broken arms, with bottles, with remnants of silk, fatin, linen, &c. of all kinds. The wardrobes of the King and Queen had been plundered; and their contents, many of them, torn and divided among the rabble, or thrown among the scattered ruins. The door of the palace, leading to the garden, was obstructed by piles of the dead bodies of those who were slain in endeavouring to escape from it. In all the walks of that fine garden, in the basons, at the foot of every statue, and almost every tree, lay mangled carcases, hacked, even after death, in the most brutal and disguising manner: while, at the further end, as if to give the last dread touch to this most horrid spectacle, the wooden barracks of the Swifs, all burning at the same time, cast their livid light on cart loads of dead bodies, which the citizens were hurrying from the spot of slaughter,

The 11th of August bore the same features as the preceding day, although the

number of victims was more confined: the pursuit of the Swiss was still continued with unabated fury, not limited to the unfortunate soldiers, but extended to every individual servant or porter, innocent or guilty, who could be convicted of having been born in Switzerland.

An aged porter, belonging to the mint, who had not been in the least degree concerned in the proceedings of the 10th, was advised by his master, early in the morning of the 11th, to withdraw himself speedily, lest the rabble, knowing him to be a Swiss, should come and murder him. He took the advice, and repaired to the lodge of his brother, who was porter to an hotel: he arrived just time enough to hear the last groan of his brother, who had, but a few minutes before, been massacred, with his wife, and children.

A Swiss soldier having been discovered in his retreat, and taken prisoner by a party of the mob, they stripped him naked,
and

and desired him to run : the poor soldier, imagining that they had entirely released him, thanked them, and hastened away ; but, finding that they began to pursue and fire at him, he stopped short, and turning to them, he cried out,—“ Oh ! Gentle-
 “ men, if I am to die, kill me in a mi-
 “ litary manner !” He waited with firmness till they approached him, and was immediately cut to pieces.

Two of these unfortunate men, who had fled on the 10th, had concealed themselves in a cellar, where they had remained all night, and 'till the evening of the 11th,—when, being faint with hunger and fatigue, one of them looking out, whispered to the other, that he believed all was quiet, and that they might venture forth. They threw off their regimentals, and otherwise disguised themselves : but, having been overheard by a base and inhuman wretch, he watched for them, and, as they were endeavouring to escape, he called out, “ there are two Swiss !”—
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They were instantly surrounded, and put to death.

A great number of Swiss had, on the 10th, concealed themselves in the cellars of the Feuillans: they had been discovered on the 11th, and the National Assembly were immediately informed of it. A decree had been passed, declaring all who had escaped to be under the protection of the law. A member got up, and proposed that they should be conducted to the Assembly. The Assembly ordered that they should be brought before them; and invited the tribunes to go out and assist in conducting the Swiss safely to the bar. The tribunes immediately cried out, that they would see it done, and left the galleries for that purpose. The Swiss, in a short time, were brought to the Assembly, and admitted into the hall. In the mean time, the rabble, being informed of this new discovery, prepared and sharpened their sabres, furiously anxious to wreak their insatiate revenge on these unfortunate

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nate men. They crowded round the Assembly, and demanded that they should be given up to them. The members of the Assembly consulted with each other on the surest means of preserving the Swiss from the fury of the populace: it was decreed, that they should be conducted to the Abbaye; and one member proposed, that a deputation should be sent with them, composed of as many deputies as there were Swiss, and that each should walk arm in arm with a soldier, as the most certain means of ensuring their protection from the multitude. The poor Swiss who heard this proposal, lifted up their hands to Heaven in admiration and gratitude: the motion was, however, over-ruled. A deputation of citizens appeared at the bar, and demanded that some of the Swiss, who could sufficiently express themselves in French, should be interrogated concerning the orders they had received:—this was decreed. Several Swiss presented themselves at the bar; but they were so overpowered by hunger, thirst and fatigue, that

that they could scarcely articulate a word; which (a member observed) was no wonder, when it was considered, that they had not tasted a morsel, or drank a drop of any thing, for forty hours : a confession, however, was extorted from them, that they had received orders to fire, and that they had been made to believe, that the party, who attacked the palace, had intended to murder the King and Queen. The Assembly, on the proposition of M. Albite, decreed, that a court-martial should be formed to judge the Swiss ; and that this decree, and many others relative to the restoration of tranquillity in the capital, should be proclaimed throughout Paris by the municipal officers on horseback. They had not determined on the mode by which the Swiss should be conducted to the Abbaye, when the new* ministers came to take the

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* M. Servan, to the War department ; M. Roland, to the Home department ; M. Clavière, to that of Contributions ; M. Danton, to the department of Justice ; M. Monge, to the Marine department ; and M. Le Brun, to that of Foreign Affairs.

new oath ; and M. Danton, the minister of Justice, engaged, as his first care, to perish rather than suffer any of the laws to be infringed with regard to the Swiss, and to accompany them to the Abbaye. Accordingly, a large party of National Guards were ordered out ; and the Swiss were, with much trouble, conducted to the Abbaye.

Honourable and feeling men contemplate misfortune as the altar of humanity, to which every one should bend with reverence : without referring to the errors that have induced it, they can view it with an eye of respectful pity, and consider it as the punishment or infliction of an almighty hand for honoured purposes, and, therefore, to be held sacred from the insults and presuming arrogance of men. The French seem to consider it as an object of contempt and ridicule, as a target for the arrows of malevolence, slander and disgrace, on which whoever can impress the most frequent wounds, receives the triumph of supe-

superior greatness. Their conduct to their unfortunate monarch, even supposing him to be as guilty as they endeavour to represent him, must for ever excite the utmost degree of indignation and disgust in the breast of honour. By the laws of God, of nations, and of men, the culpable are doomed to punishment; but the laws that punish justly, protect from insult; and he, who arrogates to himself the individual right of aggravating calamity, is a traitor to the law, to justice and his being. But when we see the King of France condemned untried and unheard, suspended from his functions, dethroned, menaced, persecuted and plundered, by an insolent and lawless rabble, that man must be callous to every feeling of honour and humanity, who can pronounce the authors of such acts of cruelty and oppression the advocates of right, of reason, or of justice. By all natural and civil laws, those of France excepted, a man is presumed innocent till he be proved guilty. The least shadow of a trial has not been held upon Louis the

Sixteenth : he has never had the slightest opportunity of answering even yes or no to any question concerning his imputed crimes. Circumstances have been alledged against him, which have been purposely consolidated as truths, without the smallest investigation of their authenticity or foundation ; the execrations of the rabble have been adopted, instead of the arguments of principled accusers ; traitors composed the jury, to judge of his reputed treason ; and an assembly of his most inveterate enemies pronounced his sentence. Thus has this unfortunate monarch, without the least proof of guilt, or the least attempt to ascertain it,—without being suffered, by proxy or in person, to speak in his defence, endured a punishment, by far more than adequate to the most atrocious crimes. His crown, his power, his liberty are gone ; his person and his family have experienced the grossest insults ; his palace has been plundered, his property violated, his friends massacred in the most shocking and inhuman manner ; and nothing is left him but
a wretch.

a wretched life, continually threatened by popular madness, barbarity, or caprice.

A few minutes after the King had thrown himself and his family on the protection of the Legislative Body, on the 10th of August, an insolent countryman, a member of the Assembly, (to mortify the feelings of the distressed monarch, and with an intent, as may be supposed, to prove to him that he was degraded to the level of his meanest subject,) went up to him, and leaning carelessly on a rail, with his hat on his head, abused him for some time, in the most indecent manner, for the amusement of the surrounding members, and the rabble in the gallery above him. The King contented himself with observing, that, as he was conscious of his innocence of the crimes imputed to him, he should look to that consciousness for comfort under any sufferings he might experience.

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When the King and his family had retired into a room adjoining the hall, from whence they could hear and see every thing that was going on, and when the National Assembly had passed the decrees before-mentioned, relative to his suspension ; the members, with great solemnity, took a new oath,—to preserve liberty and equality, and die at their posts.

Numberless accusations were uttered at the bar of the Assembly, during the 10th, against the King, and deputations continually appeared to thank the Legislative Power for the decrees they had passed. Every insult that the malignity of the most degraded mind could invent,—every opprobrious epithet that could be devised, were uttered against the King in his hearing,—were unboundedly applauded by the Assembly and the tribunes,—and the authors of them admitted to the honours of the sitting.

The rebels, murderers and plunderers of the palace, reeking with the blood of

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their fellow-creatures, incessantly poured in, depositing the tithe of their booty,—were thanked and praised by the Assembly, and admitted to the honours, as a reward for their lawless barbarity.

I have before mentioned, that during the night of the 9th, it was settled, that the business of the sections should be transacted provisionally by commissaries;—the reader will, undoubtedly, understand with what view. The following proclamation was published by them:—

The Commissaries united at the Hotel de Ville to save the country, to their fellow-citizens,—the 10th of August, 1792.

The general Assembly of Commissaries united, considering how important it is to crown the wishes of a generous people, who have gained their liberty by so many sacrifices, announces to them, that, conformable to the general wish of the French Empire, Louis the Sixteenth is suspended,
—put

—put in a state of arrestation at the Luxembourg,—and that the corrupting civil list is annihilated for ever.

The general Assembly announces also, that the ministers are deprived of their functions ; that they will soon be replaced by others, who will provisionally be charged with the executive power; and that the primary assemblies will immediately be convoked, to proceed to the formation of a Convention ; which will, doubtless, be the just consequence of the rights of man.

Done in the general Assembly of Commissaries, this 10th of August, the fourth year of liberty.

The section of Marseilles made the following proclamation :

August 10th, the Fourth Year of Liberty.

The section of Marseilles, unanimously indignant at the crimes of Louis the Sixteenth, revolted by his numerous attacks

and perjuries, by the public assassinations that he has just committed, declare, that he shall no longer be mentioned by the section, but under this denomination,—*the traitor Louis the Sixteenth*; and that no member shall be allowed to give him any other name in the general assemblies or the committees.

They order, that this resolution shall be proclaimed throughout their department: they invite and order, if necessary, the citizens of the section, who have, before their houses, or as signs, any emblems of royalty, or any image of traitors,—La Fayette for instance, to remove them immediately; as liberty ought to be the only rallying object, and the only decoration to the houses of all good citizens.

The Assembly decree the impression of these resolutions, and that they shall be sent to the different sections, and the provisional municipality.

(Signed) *LEBOIS, President; VINCENT and DEFAVANNE, Secretaries.*

The above proclamation had its immediate effect; the same resolutions were adopted by the other sections; and instantly every emblem of royalty,—every sign on which was the portrait of a King,—all the busts of imputed traitors were pulled down and demolished. All the beautiful pieces of sculpture that ornamented the porches and other parts of palaces, churches, colleges, or any public or private building, and came within the bull of excommunication, were hewn down, leaving the structures defaced, and the streets heaped with ruins. The words *King*, *Prince*, *Royal*, *Monarch*, *Bourbon*, &c. were effaced from the gate of every hotel, on which they had been formerly inscribed: the names of such streets, also, as bore any indication of royalty, or relation to the title of princes, were changed; and the new bridge, before called the *Pont de Louis Seize*, was now called the *Pont Nouveau*.

While these obliterations and alterations were being performed, a decree was de-

manded of the Assembly, authorising the rabble to pull down all the monuments and statues of their former Kings. The Assembly did not dare to refuse any thing to their petitioners: a decree, therefore, was passed, that all the monuments and statues in bronze should be pulled down; and the minister of the Home Department was ordered to have made from them *eight hundred* pieces of cannon (four pounders). The former part of the decree was punctually executed; the mob performed their office to admiration: but the minister must have thought the latter part of the decree a little arbitrary, when he found that the statues, instead of being solid, as the connoisseurs of the Assembly supposed them to be, were hollow; and that some of them, in some parts, were scarcely a line in substance.

When the demolishers of the statue of Henry the Fourth, appeared at the bar of the Assembly to recount their mighty feats, they observed, that the virtues of the
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individual represented by it, for some time made them pause ; but when they recollected that he was a King, the cord was immediately thrown about his neck, and he was tumbled to the ground, amidst the acclamations of all good citizens.

The National Assembly had, at first, decreed, that a lodging should be provided for the King in the Luxembourg ; but some of the commissaries of the municipality appeared to inform them, that there would be much inconvenience attending the choice of that place for the residence of the King and his family. The principal objection they had to offer, was the facility of an escape, on account of the quantity of gardens that surrounded the palace : they proposed, therefore, the temple as a safer place of confinement. They added, that they thought it proper, that the guard of the royal family should be entrusted to the commander-general, and to two commissaries of the municipality, who should be responsible, on their lives, for their security.

rity. M. Fauchet observed, that there was at the temple a subterraneous retreat which led to Belleville. He added, that wherever the King should reside, it was necessary that the people should know and prove that he was kept as an hostage. This business was sent to the commission of twenty-one: but an objection being made to the temple, as an unsafe place of confinement to the King, upon the proposition of M. Quinette, the reporter of the commission, the National Assembly decreed—

1st. The hotel of the minister of Justice shall be inhabited by the King.

2d. He shall have a guard, under the orders of the mayor of Paris and the commander-general of the National Guard, who shall answer for his safety and that of his family.

3d. He shall be allowed the sum of five hundred thousand livres for his expences, until the day of the formation of the
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National Convention. This sum shall be delivered weekly to the person whom the King shall appoint to receive it.

These decrees were no sooner passed than the first of them was objected to, on account of the houses adjoining that of the minister of Justice, through which the King might contrive to make his escape. The National Assembly, therefore, found themselves obliged to throw the business entirely into the hands of the municipality, and, accordingly, passed the following decree :—

The National Assembly decrees, that the King and his family shall be entrusted, in conformity to the law, to the guard and the virtues of the citizens of Paris ;—that, in consequence, the representatives of the commons shall provide, without delay, and on their responsibility, a proper place to lodge them in ; and shall take all the measures of safety, which wisdom and the national interest exact.

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Conformably to the above decree, the council-general of the commons again chose the temple as the place of residence for the King and his family, and charged the provisional commander-general to take all the measures he should think proper, to assure the execution of the decree.

The commander-general, accordingly, gave the following orders for the procession :—

The provisional commander-general of the armed sections, invites all the citizens, armed in any manner, to concur in the execution of this decree.

Two detachments of cavalry shall open and close the march.

The fifth legion shall occupy from the gate of the Feuillans, the place Vendôme, the new street des Capucines, and the Boulevard, as far as the garden of the Old Mairie.

From

From that garden to the Rue de Richelieu, the sixth legion.

From the Rue de Richelieu to the Porte Saint Denis, the third legion.

From the Porte Saint Denis to the Opéra, the twelfth legion.

From the Opéra to the Rue du Temple, the fourth legion.

From the corner of the Boulevard to the Temple, the first legion.

M. M. the chiefs of legions, and the commanders of battalions, shall leave at their respective quarters two hundred men. Those who have in their department the public chests, or the prisons, shall double their posts.

It is very necessary that the barriers should be strictly guarded.

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The provisional commander-general observes, that the guard of the barriers will soon cease; and that the service, supported by all the citizens of the sections, about the National Assembly, about the King, and at every post, will soon become very easy. He recommends to all the citizens to observe the most exact deportment while under arms.

None but the guard of the King in this day's* service shall accompany and march with him: the rest shall remain at their posts.

All the legions shall be, at two o'clock precisely, at the posts which have been respectively assigned to them.

The King shall set out from the Feuillans, at three o'clock precisely.

(Signed) SANTERRE,
*Provisional commander-general
of the armed sections.*

* These orders were given on Monday, the 13th of August.

The King, Queen and their family, having remained from the Friday morning until the Monday afternoon, sleeping by night in a small committee chamber, and being by day in a little box adjoining the Assembly, were at last conducted, accompanied by M. Petion, to the Temple.

The degraded state of the French character has been sufficiently observed on, to render it unnecessary to mention the most atrocious insults and abuses this unfortunate family experienced, during the slow procession to their prison. Every species of scurrility that the most empoisoned mind could vomit forth,—every excess of grossness that the most beastly heart could dictate, were profusely mingled with the hoots and hisses of abandoned, pitiless and inhuman profligates.

When they had arrived at the Temple, M. Petion conducted the King into an apartment, where he informed him he was to sleep. The King observed, that he supposed
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he should at least be allowed to sleep where he pleased. “ No !” replied M. Petion, “ this is your bed room, and here you are to sleep,—the people have ordered it so.”

The pillage and destruction in the palace of the Tuilleries had been so complete, that when the royal family were removed to their prison, they had not a change of raiment ; and the Queen was obliged to have recourse to the care and generosity of an amiable foreigner, for every necessary article of dress.

Leaving this unfortunate family in their prison, to which they were attended by the sighs, fears and regrets of every honest heart, I shall take a short view of what passed in Paris and the environs during the commencement of the first year of *equality*, and the continuance of the fourth of liberty. Immediately after the events of the 10th, the barriers were closely guarded, and no egress was permitted,

ted, excepting to the couriers of the Assembly, who were dispatched to inform the departments of the circumstances that had taken place, and the decrees that had been passed, in the style best adapted to the interests of the Assembly.

Commissioners were sent to the army, to paint the events to them, and the people of the towns through which they were to pass, in the most favourable colours.

No persons whatever, on private business, were permitted to leave Paris. The courier of the British Ambassador, who ought to have set off on the Friday, was not permitted to depart until the Sunday evening.

The liberty of the press was totally abolished,—no person was allowed to print any book or paper that did not speak in the highest terms of the sovereignty of the mob, and the proceedings of the Jacobins and the Assembly. Several aristocratic
papers

papers were suppressed, and burnt by the hands of the executioner; and two or three of the best principled editors were murdered, leaving the whole sway of the historic pen in the hands of Brissot, Condorcet, Carra, Gorsas, Marat, Prudhomme, and others of the same stamp. Truth and virtue, however, have still preserved one honourable and public votary, who, though doomed at last to fly from the dagger of the assassin, and seek refuge in a country where liberty exists in all its glory, never, in the moment of his greatest danger, while he could yet be heard, ceased to pour forth "the cry of affliction" to his degraded countrymen, or abandoned his principles, his honour, or his King.

The massacre of the Swiss, and others suspected of Aristocracy, continued during several days; for, beside the Swiss immediately about the palace, there were near two hundred employed in different occupations throughout Paris, most of whom
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were instantaneously murdered, or conducted to prison, where they afterwards fell the victims to the fury of the mob.

They who had returned to Courbevoie, endeavoured to secure a safe retreat in their barracks; but the mob, whom, as their representatives observe, nothing can resist, set fire to them. Some of these unfortunate and brave men were put to death on the spot; the rest were placed under the *safeguard of the law*; and, by a petition of the municipality of Courbevoie, and a consequent decree of the Assembly, they were afterwards sent prisoners to the Abbaye.

Similar circumstances took place at Meudon, and several other little towns in the neighbourhood, where any of these persecuted soldiers had taken refuge;—but, as they had all the same tendency and effect, it is unnecessary to enter into a further detail of horrors.

I have before observed, that money markets had been held in the Place de Victoire, and other places. The mob, determined to put an end to such transactions, cut off the heads of two of the principal merchants.

The National Assembly, in the course of a few days, passed more than an hundred decrees, without the least deliberation or debate, acting only in fear of, and in obedience to their commanders.

Many members, who had not been in the Assembly when the new oath was taken, occasionally mounted the tribune, and swore to maintain liberty and equality, and to die at their posts : others sent their new oath in letters.

The National Guards denouncing their old officers, selected new ones from among themselves, and appointed them to command.

It was decreed by the Assembly, that the federates, as a reward for the murders they had committed, should be allowed to act, and receive pay as National Guards, independent of the thirty sols a day already allowed them.

Many letters and notes, which, it was said, were found in the secretaries of the King and Queen, and the intendant of the civil list, were brought to the Assembly many days after the pillage of the palace : as a considerable degree of time had elapsed after they were (as it was pretended) found, before they were produced, it is more than probable, that they were all forged. Besides, it cannot be supposed, that the King or Queen, when their palace was continually threatened with an invasion, would have kept, had they received, any letters that would have furnished their enemies with grounds of accusation against them. Rumours had been spread by the Jacobins, among the populace, that the executive power had held a constant cor-

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respondence with the Emigrants; and, therefore, it was thought necessary to endeavour to justify such reports, by some proofs that they had been properly founded. A better opportunity could not have offered itself; they, consequently, availed themselves of it: but not finding what they wished, they had recourse to what some of their members had already excelled in,—the art of forgery.

One of the letters, said to have been found in the Queen's secretary, I shall insert, without any animadversions on it;—it was reported to have been found without date or signature, and is here literally translated.

“ You would not be pleased with me, if I did not send you some account of our glorious military operations. Ten times have we changed our camp since I joined the army. We were definitively at the camp of Brouenne, about a league from Stenay, with a little division of four thousand

land men, when the two armies that had been in Flanders, by the result of a combination of concerted operations, came to re-join us.

“ Father Luckner has retired to Metz with an army of about twenty-fivethousand men ; and M. La Fayette, with a body of thirty thousand, has occupied the country on this side Longwy, to cover the towns of Stenay, Montmédy and Verdun. We are now actually in that position ; but, notwithstanding the number androdomontade of our volunteers, we have not been so fortunate as to attempt any thing with success. Every thing that we have foreseen as the necessary consequence of an army without discipline and subordination, is realised to the letter.

“ Soldiers, who wish all to be officers, for the advantages and profits of being so,—who preach up nothing but the law, and who acknowledge no other laws but those that favour them,—who cry out ‘ treason !’

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when fear or weakness induces them to run away,—who attribute to the enemies of their opinion, whatever is but the effect of their bad manœuvres, and their foolish and ignorant presumption ;—officers, who have neither had the means, nor the knowledge necessary to their profession,—who are by so much the less capable of commanding, as some owe their situations only to insurrections, and others to the combined expulsion of their proper and natural superiors ;—chiefs, who, for the most part, dare not punish vice, for fear of displeasing their soldiers,—who grant them every thing they wish, and at any price—such is the picture of the composition of the armies. We are now here thirty thousand men, and we dare not make the least attempt.

“ On the 13th of last month, a detachment of eight hundred men from our army, invaded the territory of the empire near the Abbaye d’Orval, where there was not a single Austrian soldier. A few monks,

monks, servants and weeping women, it was not very difficult to subject to us;—we, therefore, bravely took possession of the Abbaye, the chapel, the kitchens, the cellars, garden and dependencies; and, during four and twenty hours, the red cap of Paris was waving on that spot, in the midst of the enthusiasm of our conquering warriors: but, while that vast building was resounding with the cries of ‘Live free or die!’ it was announced that the Austrian troops were on their march, to engage with our intrepid conquerors of the Abbaye.

“ The general was beaten,—every one was alarmed,—they thought no longer but of running away to live;—they imagined that they heard the report of cannon, because a door, agitated by the wind, had closed with a sudden noise,—they knew no longer what would become of them,—they forgot the famous oath, so common. Some of the volunteers, without troubling themselves with their knapsacks or their

musquets, ran up and down, distractedly, seeing the image of death in every thing that presented itself to them. At last, by dint of menaces and severity, they contrived to reassemble the champions, and they abandoned Orval and the monks with the greatest precipitation, without any one thinking proper to turn back to hoist the celebrated cap."

Another expedition.—"On the 27th of last month, we went, to the number of five thousand five hundred men, at the head of a considerable convoy, and of forty pieces of cannon, to establish a municipality on the territory of the empire. We very soon became the masters, for there was no one to oppose us.—There was not a child, nor even a woman, who did not dread the effect of our sabres, sharpened to the guard. The poultry experienced a most terrible carnage. Every one trembled before the red cap: we took possession of all the cottages of the peasants, and even of a convent de Cordeliers, with our accustomed bravery. Every one yielded,—

yielded,—every one shuddered, during four and twenty hours, before our standards, our triple coloured standards. We were all still disposed to conquer, or to take our usual steps, when two or three hundred hulans appeared in the environs;—you should have seen our artillery against these poor fellows.—French blood is precious! The enemy had only their musquets;—we kept ourselves scarcely within cannon shot. At last, by dint of firing into the woods, where they had placed themselves in ambush, we had the honour of killing three.

“ We retired, singing hymns to the red cap, and loaded with the spoils of the enemy; and we were still employed in talking over our glorious exploits, and refreshing ourselves, after our fatigues, with the wine of the unhappy Austrian Cordeliers, when the arrival of a body of the troops of the empire was announced. We were then obliged to abandon every thing, artillery, ammunition, convoy, &c. to take
again

again the road to France. For every musket that was fired, every horse of ours received ten spurs. At last, by much haste and trouble, we escaped the grand pursuit of the Austrians, whose number was five hundred, and we were five thousand five hundred. What I tell you, is true to the letter: I can certify it, because I was present. I shall have many expeditions of this kind to acquaint you with,—but that another time.—Adieu.”

There are some accounts of the National Assembly and the Jacobins that must appear so very improbable and unfounded to every one at all unacquainted with the characters of the leading men in France, that it is necessary to say something relative to their original situations, principles and conduct, to prove that the convulsions in that country have not taken place so much from the mental degradation of men, formerly good, but from the sudden elevation of men, formerly bad. In proceeding to give the reader a brief account of
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the most notorious persons at the head of affairs at this moment, and who were the chief instigators of the horrid cruelties, that would have disgraced men capable of being disgraced ; I have not the smallest intention of attaching any degree of stigma to poverty or obscurity of birth. It is well known that, in this country, many have been raised from the lowest situations to the highest offices in the state ; but they have, in general, experienced such preferment, as the reward of superior talents, industry, honour, or integrity, in which case, their obscure birth, and original rank, far from being derogatory to their characters, become the surest proofs of their merit and title to the distinctions they have obtained. But, when we see men, without any previous industry, or thought of advancement,—without any honourable recommendation whatever, thrown up on a sudden from their obscurity, as it were, by a political earthquake, involving superiority in its abyss, and turning the whole mass of genius bottom upwards ;—

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when we see such men arrogantly assuming dignity and power, and pretending efficiency to regulate a mighty empire, breaking and forming constitutions at their will, disdaining the beauty of true greatness, and endeavouring to conceal their deformities, by reducing millions to their own level,—justice, surely, may revert to their origin for proofs of their incapacity, and the impropriety of their elevation. The indiscriminating world too frequently judge of persons from the robes that cover them: they transfer their admiration of power to the man in office, and think him necessarily great, because his station is exalted. The wise consider situations,—reflect on the obligations annexed to them,—and judge of the employed from his competency or incompetency to fulfil his required duties. It is to afford a clue to a discovery of this nature, that I am induced to insert some short observations on the history of a few of the leading men in France, who have already signalized themselves in the Jacobins and the Legislative

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Assembly ; and who, at this moment, form a part of what is called a National Convention, deputed to frame a constitution, for the government of five and twenty millions of men.

M. Petion was originally a pettifogging attorney : by the assistance of the revolution, he contrived to get returned for Chartres to the first National Assembly, by the influence of the clergy, whom he has since so gratefully persecuted, and whom he then so effectually deceived by his hypocrisy. He was afterwards made mayor of Paris, and since president of the Convention.

M. Robertspierre (supposed to be the nephew of Damiens), was a poor orphan at Arras : he was afterwards clerk to an obscure attorney, when he was returned a member of the first National Assembly : he was obliged to beg a coat for the occasion ; but has now every appearance of a splendid fortune.

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M. Brissot was, a few years since, well known to some of the police officers of this country, as a pickpocket ; but, upon their endeavouring to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with him, he withdrew to France, where his talents have been much more favourably, though, perhaps, not so justly rewarded as they would have been, had he remained much longer in England.

M. Merlin was an under usher to a school : he was on the point of being married ; but having received the lady's fortune the day before that appointed for the wedding, he contented himself with the money, and ran away. But, being afterwards reduced, he broke open a lady's bureau, and stole the pecuniary contents : he then borrowed a horse, returned to France, and became a member of the National Assembly.

M. Chabot was the son of a baker : he ran away with his uncle's wife, which occasioned

casioned the death of his uncle and benefactor.—He afterwards debauched her daughter ; but again changing his mind, he persuaded a third lady to rob her husband, and run off with him ; for which, he was some time in prison ; but, having procured his release, he was returned a member of the National Legislative Assembly.

M. Condorcet, having been suspected of aristocracy, and, consequently, for a long time refused admittance to the Jacobin Society, to remove all the suspicions of the leading members, and procure their favour, he performed a work of superelevation with respect to the equality of rights, and extended it even to a partition of the privileges of a husband ; by which means he successfully qualified himself for a Jacobin, and procured sufficient interest to be afterwards elected a member of the Convention.

M. Rouelle, some years ago, kept a small eating-house in the vicinity of London,

don, which, having been under the necessity of quitting, he caught the golden, glorious opportunity afforded by the reign of anarchy, of retiring to his native country, where he has been exalted to the honour of being deputed a member of the National Convention.

M. Danton was the son of a butcher : he procured the protection of the late Princess de Lamballe, by marrying a relation of the maid of her femme de chambre. By the interest of the princess, he was appointed a farrier to the Count d'Artois' stud : he practised, also, as a doctor ; but was so unsuccessful, that the Count constantly threatened any of his servants who displeased him, with the attendance of Danton. He had, before the King's acceptance of the Constitution, been *decreté de prise de corps*, but escaped in the general amnesty. He was one of the principal instigators of the horrid massacre committed on his former benefactress, and is now the minister of Justice.

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The gentleman who now calls himself Marat, thought proper to adopt that name after having been engaged and discovered in forging the Billets d'Escompte, and taken refuge from his pursuers in England, where he afterwards taught the French language;—*he* also took advantage of the abolition of laws in France to return to his own country in safety, where he has, however, since, been nine times *decreté de prise de corps*;—but his efforts in the cause of patriotifm have at last been rewarded by a feat in the National Convention.

M. Carra was, in his youth, condemned to the gallows for breaking open a shop, and stealing from it money and goods; his sentence was afterwards exchanged for two years imprisonment, and a subsequent and perpetual banishment: during his exile, he stole a gold watch, and being convicted of the theft, he contrived to make a sudden change in his residence. On his return to Paris, after the Revolution, his talents were sufficiently acknowledged to

secure him a seat in the Jacobin Club, from which, he has since been advanced to a more conspicuous post in the National Convention.

M. Gorfes formerly kept a little day-school ; but, having murdered his father, he was condemned to expire on the wheel : this sentence was, however, afterwards mitigated, and he was sent to the galleys for life. He contrived, a few years ago, to get free, and return to Paris : he was first admitted to the Jacobins ; and, secondly, was made a member of the Convention.

Such are the characters of the leading and most conspicuous men in the French National Convention, called together for the purpose of framing a constitution and code of laws, for the government of a great empire !

When the crimes and principles of these representatives, almost universally known in

in France, are considered,—and when it is allowed, as it surely must be, that no men of sense, reason, or integrity would elect such members, a strong presumption may be drawn, that the principal power of election fell to the lot of the Jacobins, and their adherents; for, although every one at a certain age was allowed the privilege of voting, yet, so great was the fear of the mob, that no one dared to oppose or refuse their suffrages, to any they thought proper to nominate.

When, also, it is considered, that convulsions and insurrections in an empire afford so good an opportunity to the most abandoned profligates, of elevating themselves so high above their proper sphere,—when a Gorsas, a Carra, and a Brissot have, by such convulsions, found means to rise from the most infamous situations, to which they were condemned for infractions of the law, and become legislators, it is not to be wondered at, since the best of countries may produce the worst of

men, that, even in Great Britain, there should be found persons, and even natives, who would willingly strike a dagger at the heart of the constitution, that, in the general confusion, they might be thrown up from their obscurity, and, for a few moments of a dishonoured life, be borne on the surface of sedition and rebellion. But to such men it should be observed, that although in the convulsions of the ocean the natural gravitation of particles may for a short time cease, and density, torn up from its abyss, may be hurried into the chaos of confounded matter, yet, when the tempest has subsided, original preponderancy must again ensue, and the heavier particles must descend to their former limits, from which, nothing but extraordinary commotions could have raised them.

As in the natural, so is it in the political world ;—states are subject to frequent storms, when the minds of men, agitated by violent passions, swell up, destroy the supremacy of reason, and, in the anarchy
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of confused and contending ideas, often imbibe sentiments inappropriate and prejudicial to their natural temper. It is in this hurried state of opposite sensations, that men are frequently called upon to appoint a ruler or representative ; their discriminating feelings are lost in the tempestuous situation of their minds ; the most notorious object strikes them as the most deserving ; and, consequently, their careless choice generally falls upon the very person who has, by disturbing their senses, prevented their choosing properly.

It is by putting the minds of men into this state of fermentation, by banishing their reason, and poisoning or concealing the true sources of information, that ambitious and artful profligates endeavour to effect their designs. Those persons, who (profiting by the mildness and indulgence of our laws, by the free principles of which, and the liberty they allow, they are permitted publicly to utter and propagate their sentiments with impunity) dare

to prètend that they are the advocates for the true rights of man, and attempt to excite insurrection in this country, under the pretence that we are not free, must at once be condemned in the eyes of every sensible and worthy man. If their principles were honourable,—if they really wished to serve and instruct the people of this island, and make them happier (if possible) than they are at present, they would enter into a full discussion of our government and constitution, neither of which need shrink from strict and severe investigation ; they would point out the defects of each : but they would tell the people, at the same time, that no government or constitution can be perfect ; they would add, also, the causes of this necessary imperfection,—the imperfection of humanity. They would then counterbalance the defects with the advantages—with the blessings afforded us by our constitution, and shew how little we want, but how much we have : they would dwell upon the good things we already possess, and urge the improbability,

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if not the impossibility, of procuring better. They would not address the wandering ideas, but the determined judgment of the people : they would not present a dazzling and fleeting meteor to their imagination, but a solid and steady light unto their reason : they would not ransack theory to obtain a fictitious power of *telling* them what they have not, but adduce practice to ask them what they *could* have more. Such would be the conduct of honourable men ; —but such a conduct would serve only to increase the content of the people, and the consciousness of their happiness under their present government : it would cause no confusion,—no insurrection,—no rebellion,—no massacres,—no plunder,—no partition of spoils ; the people would remain in a tranquil state of honourable allegiance, receiving and enjoying the blessings of a free and glorious government, and paying the debt of gratitude for the protection of their liberty, their property and life. Merit would continue to be the exclusive means of preferment ;

superiôr talents would be superiorly rewarded, and honour and honesty would remain the acknowledged fundamentals of public and private virtue. Such a prospect, however, would not be conciliatory with the wishes of English Jacobins ; their desperate fortunes require more desperate resources ; their interests are at variance with peace and good government, from either of which they would have nothing to hope : it is on a convulsion in the empire that they build for advancement,—when the laws may be violated, liberty overthrown, property plundered without redress,—and when the dagger of the assassin, or the sword of the murderer, may be died with impunity in British blood. Such evils, it is to be hoped, though so industriously promoted, for the worst of purposes, will never be the portion of this country. We have not yet deserted our Creator,—and he will not desert us. We acknowledge a supreme Being, and obey his laws,—we worship him in his sanctuaries, and preserve his temples from sacrilege and violation;—

olation;—in the cottage and on the throne, he is, with equal humility, adored and glorified ; his ministers are respected and revered, and subject to no persecution.

Immediately after the proceedings of the 10th of August, and the destruction of the constitution, the government of France became divided and sub-divided into numerous self-created communities. The National Assembly preserved their situation, but had no other power than that of passing the decrees which were brought to them, already resolved on by other societies. The provisional commissaries, or representatives of the commons, formed a most despotic tribunal : by their orders, every one suspected of aristocracy was privately arrested and thrown in prison.—Numbers were taken from their beds, during several following nights, and secretly conveyed to the different dungeons, there to remain, until the mob could be roused to another and more general massacre.—The barriers were kept strictly guarded,
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that no one might escape, until the lettres de cachet, issued by this newly formed power, should be effectually enforced, and the suspected persons surrendered to the numerous bastiles still existing, or to immediate execution from the rabble. It would be impossible to enumerate the many murders that continued, for a long time, to be committed. It may not, however, be unnecessary to observe, that the Jacobins took the most effectual methods of removing every possibility of contradiction to the reports they intended to circulate, respecting the treachery of the Swifs,—the correspondence of the King with the combined powers,—and the forged letters which the people were to suppose were original and found in the palace, by murdering every one who might have been able to throw any light on those dark transactions.

When the proprietors of particular houses or apartments were no longer in existence, and, of course, no longer capable of deny-

denying any charges that might be brought against them, numerous letters were laid on the table of the Assembly, said to have been found in the pockets or secretaries of the deceased. To all reasoning men it appeared, that every one formerly connected with the court was purposely murdered, for the sake of a pretended discovery of treasonable letters. Some of the notes, memorandums and bills, which were sent to the Assembly, as papers found in the bureau of M. la Porte, the steward of the civil list, were too decidedly explanatory to have been the production of a person engaged in a transaction, on the concealment of which his life depended. In this, as in many other circumstances, the villany of the Jacobins, by endeavouring to prove too much, revealed itself. Men may suffer themselves to be deceived, so long as the assertions that are intended to deceive them are confined to the limits of probability : but when assertions, for similar effects, are once discovered to exceed the customary bounds of credulity, the mind;

mind, revolting against the perfidious design, is excited to a spirit of indignation, and does not content itself with refusing credit to the improbable, but casts a retrospective doubt over every circumstance it formerly believed to be true.

The same observations may be applied to the letters, supposed to have been found in the King's apartments : but, independent of the style and language in which those letters were generally written, there are three strong improbabilities that must be removed, before it can be believed that they were not forged.

In the first place,—it is generally believed, by the best informed persons (excepting those immediately concerned) that the King, since his acceptance of the constitution, never held any private correspondence with the Princes, or any other Emigrants*.

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* I have been assured, by the *best* authority, that since the King's acceptance of the constitution, he has decidedly refused

In the next place,—it is almost certain, that, if the King *had* held such a correspondence, he would not have preserved the letters that composed it, especially after the 20th of June, when every day and hour threatened the security of them; and when he must have known, that, if the people once obtained possession of them, his destruction would be no longer doubtful.

In the third place,—*had* he held such a correspondence, and *had* he preserved the letters, it is very improbable, that, on the 10th of August, he would not have destroyed them, when he left his palace, and its contents, at the mercy of the rabble.

If

refused to hold, and has never held, any private correspondence; directly or indirectly, with the Princes, excepting one, the following instance:—The Princes once applied to him for a supply of money, which the King refused; observing, that having thought proper to accept the constitution, and sworn to defend it, he would never be guilty of any thing with which his conscience might reproach him, but would apply the money allowed him by the constitution, to the support of it.

If we add to the above considerations, the murder of all those who would have been on the spot to have invalidated the pretended discovery, the space of time that had elapsed after the 10th, before the letters* were produced, and the characters of persons principally concerned in their being produced, it may, without any danger of opposing truth, be believed, that they were all forged.

Immediately after the 10th, immense numbers of people applied for passports, which were not, for some time, on any account, to be obtained, except by particular and well known individuals.—At last, the prohibition of egress occasioned so much inconvenience, that the Assembly passed a decree that passports should be given, under certain restrictions. The representatives of the commons had not, how-

* The greater part of them were not brought to the Assembly until six, seven, eight, or more days, after the pillage of the palace.

however, yet completed their denunciations and proscriptions : they, therefore, sent a deputation to the Assembly, demanding a decree, that no passports should yet be granted, except to those concerned in the provisionment of the capital. The Assembly conformed to their demand, and continued for several days, alternately, allowing and prohibiting the distribution of passports. A French gentleman having applied personally to M. Petion for a passport, on the 14th, the latter refused it, adding, that in twice twenty-four hours, they would be given to every one ; but that, in the mean time, it was necessary that all egress should be prevented, as there were still some suspected persons who were not secured.

It was at first necessary that all Frenchmen should bring with them, to the Mairie, a testimonial of their being good citizens, from the section in which they had resided. About fifteen hundred were, one morning, crowding round the Mairie to have

have their testimonials examined, and passports granted. As many as could be conveniently introduced at a time, men and women, had been admitted into the council-hall, where several of the magistrates were sitting to transact business. While the magistrates were examining testimonials, and granting passports, a party of federates brought a poor man before them, whom they accused of having stolen something in the palace on the 10th :—the federates observed, that they did not choose to execute him themselves, but had brought him there to receive the sentence of the law : they added, that they had found nothing on him, but had caught him in the act of stealing. The man protested his innocence ;—a magistrate examined, acquitted him, and requested the federates to release him. The federates replied to the magistrate, that his acquitting the man did not signify a farthing, for they had seen him steal ; and if he did not think proper to order him to be executed, they would cut off his head immediately

them-

themselves. The poor man begged for his life,—the magistrates reasoned with them in vain ;—one of them having procured a scythe, they took it from its handle, and having laid the man on the ground, and confined him, in the presence of the magistrates, and a great number of terrified spectators, they sawed off his head, laughing at, and enjoying the excruciating torments of the victim, and the feelings of those around them.

The horror excited by this cruel action will be greatly heightened, when it is considered, that there was no authority or force in Paris, that dared attempt to prevent or punish the authors of it: they retired perfectly unmolested from the scene of their barbarity.

While I am engaged on the subject of passports, it may not be improper or foreign to the nature of my talk, to introduce a few anecdotes relative to them.

The passports that had been printed before the suspension of the King were still distributed : before the secretary delivered any one to the person applying for it, he crossed out the crown, on the upper part of the sheet, with his pen, and erased the words, “ *La Nation, la Loi, et le Roi,*” and substituted in their stead, “ *La Liberté et l’Egalité.*” The passport was afterwards to be signed by M. Petion, before it could be deemed valid. It was necessary, also, to have it examined and signed by a committee, appointed for that purpose near the barriers in Paris, and by the municipal officers at the principal towns through which the bearer might pass, and to have the words “ Seen to pass “ at * * * *,” written on it.

The qualifications of the officers appointed, in the different towns, to examine and sign passports, which is, by no means, an unimportant business, may be estimated by the following anecdotes :—

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A gentleman entering one of the principal towns in France, was asked for his passport ; he, accordingly, delivered it to the officer, who held it for some time the wrong side upwards, and having pretended to read it, returned it to the bearer, observing, that it was a good one.

Another gentleman travelling from Geneva to Paris, was, in like manner, requested to shew his passport : the officer having taken it, and with several others looked over and about it for some time, the gentleman shewed some impatience, as it rained very much, to have it returned : the officer having consulted with his companions a few moments, and examined the paper completely, observed, that it was necessary that the words “ seen to pass,” should be written on it, and that it should be signed by one of them. The gentleman requested that they would be expeditious, and do what was proper with it ; the officer, shewing some confusion, replied, that he could not write, but if Monsieur would

be kind enough to alight, and write "*vu passer*" for him, and sign his (the officer's) name, that would answer the purpose, and he should be much obliged to him. The gentleman, accordingly, alighted, and having properly endorsed his passport, released the officer from his dilemma, and proceeded on his journey.*

When the numerous and extensive prisons† were completely filled with suspected persons of all ranks, the mob shewed themselves extremely impatient to have them immediately tried: but some difficulty having prevented the appointment of

* The French word for "seen," was written three different ways on my passport, and neither of them right: the gentleman who signed it in Paris, after much hesitation and consideration, wrote "*vous*."

† The Palais Bourbon and several other large hotels, were converted into prisons on this barbarous occasion. The established ones, though large and numerous, not being sufficiently capacious to contain the immense numbers that were continually arrested.

of a proper and effectual tribunal for that purpose, a delay took place, which irritated the *sovereign* to so great a degree, that they sent, one day, a deputation to the Assembly, the orator of which delivered their sentiments at the bar, in the following words:—

“ To-night the tocsin shall sound,—
 “ the general shall beat,—and the people
 “ will rise up once more to do themselves
 “ justice. Why are not the Swiss and the
 “ other traitors judged? Must the people
 “ for ever remind you of your duty?
 “ Perform it, or this night we will re-
 “ venge ourselves.”

The alarmed Assembly immediately informed their *petitioners*, that a tribunal should be instituted without delay, and intreated them to preserve the calm pride of sovereign majesty.

This deputation was a signal to the representatives of the commons for offering
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their proposed plan for the organisation of a tribunal, which might be found in every respect adequate to the accomplishment of their designs. They remarked, therefore, to the Assembly, that it was necessary that the tribunal to be formed should be so organised, as to be efficient to judge all those who might be suspected of a wish to co-operate in a civil war.

They proposed, that forty-eight juries of accusation should be taken from the forty-eight sections of Paris, and that as many should be selected among the federates from the departments ;—that an equal number should be taken to form the jury of judgment ;—that this *high court* should be presided over by four grand judges taken from the National Assembly ; and that two grand procurators, also from the Assembly, should be added to it.

Had not the execution of the unfortunate prisoners preceded their trial, a doubt can-

cannot exist of the judgment that would have been passed upon them.

M. La Fayette, having heard of the proceedings on the 10th, and viewing the suspension of the King in its true light,—as the work of a lawless faction,—caused the commissaries sent to *enlighten* the army on that subject, to be arrested at Sedan. A great part of his army had declared that they would no longer fight for factions, and avowed themselves the advocates of the King, and the constitution, as accepted by him: but several battalions revolted from their allegiance, and declared for the National Assembly.

The Assembly being informed of what La Fayette had done, M. Lafource proposed, that a decree of accusation should be passed against him: but M. Chabot observed, that La Fayette would laugh at that measure in the midst of his army, and demanded that the Assembly should publish the *popular* martial law against this

perfidious general, and that every one should be ordered to fire at him as at a mad dog. “ Let us make use,” added he, “ of revolutionary measures against a counter-revolutionist.”

“ Let his relations, his wife and children, who are at Havre, be secured as hostages.”

The Assembly decreed, after a short discussion, that “ the *ci-devant* general La Fayette is put in a state of accusation.

“ That, in case he should refuse to submit to the decree, all citizens are ordered to secure his person by every possible means.

“ All the public authorities, and all citizens, are forbidden to give him any assistance, under the penalty of being considered as his accomplices.”

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La Fayette, hearing of the above decree, left his army, in company with the principal officers, with an intention of seeking an asylum in a country, whose government was not in an actual state of hostility against France. They were, however, taken prisoners, and confined by the enemy.

On the 19th of August, the Assembly were informed, that the administrators of the department du Var, sitting at Toulon, had taken very vigorous measures; that they had transported all the *refractory* priests; that they had broken open all suspicious letters, and burnt, by the hands of the executioner, all the aristocratic journals. The Assembly having very loudly applauded the salutary precautions taken by this department, M. Cambon rose up, and observed—

“ You applaud, gentlemen, very warmly, the transportation of the refractory
 “ priests, and yet there is no law to au-
 “ thorize it : make, therefore, a general
 “ law

“ law for all the departments : decree,
 “ that all the ecclesiastics, who have ne-
 “ ver taken the oath, and they who, hav-
 “ ing taken it, have since retracted it, shall
 “ be transported.”

The Assembly, in a moment, adopted the proposition of M. Cambon, amidst the loudest applause ; and, without the least deliberation, passed the cruel and horrid decree.

Thus, at the commencement of the pretended restoration of liberty, were these unfortunate and persecuted men, after having been robbed and plundered of their possessions, and delivered over to the virulence and insults of a lawless rabble, exiled from their country, for having refused to sacrifice the dictates of their conscience, in their attachment to their lawful sovereign, or the service and worship of their maker.

Another dreadful storm now began to hover over Paris ;—the despotism of the
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commissaries of the commons had excited the jealousy of the other authorities, and the National Assembly began to shew signs of a revolt against their arrogated influence. The commissaries endeavoured assiduously to prolong their provisional power, until the meeting of the Convention. The Jacobins began to wage war with each other,—some having demanded the immediate execution of the King and Queen, and others insisting upon their still being kept as hostages, responsible for the invasions of the combined armies. Petion was gradually losing a popularity, which Robertspierre was courting, by continually and furiously insisting on the trial of the numerous prisoners suspected of aristocracy, and those confined for their proceedings on the 10th of August. It must not be supposed, however, that Petion was actually become less deserving of the favour of the patriots than he had before been: but he was sly and designing, and meditated and encouraged in *secret* the plans of future massacre; and, consequently, being
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a less notorious agent of villany than many others, the populace began to imagine that he was endeavouring to desert them, and transferred the excess of their adoration to more open and bold adventurers. Robertspierre, on the contrary, having, since the 10th of August, daringly stood forward as the advocate of desperate murder, they agreed to enlist themselves under his banners. Frivolous, designedly frivolous excuses were made for delaying the much-talked-of trials ; and Robertspierre was contrivedly opposed, for the purpose of aggravating the impatience of the multitude, and urging them to involve in one indiscriminate and general massacre, all those, who, from a deficiency in the arguments of their guilt, might escape from the sentence of a tribunal, not too notoriously partial. Thus, by the most intricate villany, the Jacobins endeavoured to exculpate themselves from the guilt of transactions, undoubtedly the consequences of their own contrivances, and ascribed them to the sudden and irresistible fury of a mob,

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impatient of the delay of a trial, which they designedly prorogued.

The rapid advance of the Duke of Brunswick, and the summons which he had sent to the garrison of Verdun, gave the last and most effective instigation to a general insurrection.

The news of the Duke having besieged that town, and the improbability of its being able long to sustain the siege, excited the greatest consternation in Paris. The municipality, with the intent of stimulating the minds of the people to some efficient purpose, published the following resolutions :—

The barriers shall immediately be strictly guarded, and no egress shall be permitted.

All horses, fit for the service of those who are to go to the frontiers, shall be instantly seized.

All

All citizens shall hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

Citizens, who, on account of their age and infirmities, are not able instantly to march, shall deposit their arms at the sections, to be given to such citizens as cannot arm themselves, and who may be desirous to march to the frontiers.

All suspected persons, and they who are so cowardly as to refuse to march, shall be instantly disarmed.

Twenty-four commissioners shall immediately proceed to the armies, to announce to them these resolutions,—and to the neighbouring departments, to invite the citizens to join their brethren at Paris, to march in a body to meet the enemy.

The military committee shall sit permanently : they shall meet in the commons house, in the hall *ci-devant de la Reine*.

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The alarm guns shall be immediately fired, and the general shall be beat in all the sections, to announce to the citizens the dangers of their country.

The National Assembly, and the provisional executive powers, shall be informed of these decrees.

The members of the general council shall immediately repair to their respective sections, announce there the dispositions to be made by the present decrees, and paint with energy to all their fellow citizens, the imminent dangers of their country, and the treachery with which they are surrounded and threatened: they shall represent to them, in the most forcible manner, that their liberty is in danger, and that the French territories are invaded; they shall, likewise, represent to them, that the intention of our enemies is to reduce us again to the most ignominious slavery; that we ought, rather than submit to it, bury ourselves under the ruins of
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our country, and not to give up our towns, 'till they shall have been converted into a heap of ashes.

In consequence of the above resolutions, the tocsin was rung, the general was beat, the alarm guns were fired, and the people soon assembled, in very great numbers, in the Champ de Mars. The municipal officers on horseback, and in their scarfs, proclaimed, in every quarter of the town, that the country was in danger, and that it became all good citizens to fly to its relief.

The proclamations of the municipality were answered, as usual, by the cries of "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté! Vive l'Egalité! à bas les Tyrans!*" The Jacobins, with Robertspierre at their head, were employed, in different parts of the town, in thundering out anathemas against the court and the aristocrats, and endeavouring to persuade the people that they were betrayed,—that their foreign ene-
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mies were not the most to be dreaded,—that the furnace of counter-revolution was bursting out in Paris,—that, in the moment when the brave citizens should be at a proper distance from the capital, on their march to defend the frontier towns, the prisons would be opened, and the torrent of aristocracy would rush out, and deluge the metropolis,—that the liberty of the country was in danger, from its internal enemies,—and that the recovery and safety of their natural rights could not be purchased at too dear a rate. The mob, roused up to the paroxysm of desperation, declared, that they would pour down by millions on the foreign enemy; but that they would first extinguish the furnace of aristocracy in the capital, to its last spark. They immediately rushed to the prisons, where the infermented priests, and other suspected persons, were confined; and having procured a list of their names, and an account of the nature of the crimes for which they were imprisoned, they murdered

dered them, one by one, in the most shocking and brutal manner.

The National Assembly, having been informed of what was going on, sent a deputation of twelve members, to endeavour to persuade the mob to desist : but the fury of the multitude was not so easily to be calmed, as it had been excited ;—the massacre had been begun, and the cries of pity, reason and justice, were drowned in the shouts of passion, barbarity, and murderous execration. Not a single person accused of high treason, (aristocracy) or theft, —not a single priest that could be found, escaped the horrid slaughter ; while they who had been confined for debt, or trivial offences, were set at liberty.

The massacre was extended all over Paris ; every priest and every person, on whom the smallest suspicion fell,—every one of decent appearance, who was not notoriously known to be a *patriot*, who, unfortunately, were discovered by the rabble,

ble, were immediately slaughtered. An aged officer of the King's former body-guard, some priests, and a bishop, were taken up on suspicion, near the palace. They were about to be conducted to the municipality; but the mob, in their way, chose to take the law into their own hands, and hanged them *à la lanterne*.

Some of the mob went to the prison de la Force, where the ladies of honour, and other of the royal attendants, had been chiefly confined since the 10th of August. Neither sex nor beauty could have any influence over these savage butchers,—they were all murdered with the most dreadful aggravations of slaughter, excepting two or three ladies only, whom the commissioners of the National Assembly were happy enough to save. When the mob first came to this prison, the Princess de Lamballe kneeled before these wretches to implore a suspension of her fate, for four and twenty hours; this was, after she had experienced the grossest menaces and in-

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sults,

sults, at last acceded to ; and they left her, with the strongest assurances of a return at the expiration of that period. But, in the mean time, another mob, more ferocious than the first, broke into her apartments, and after having executed the most shocking inventions of torture their barbarity could suggest, and mangling her with a brutality too dreadful to relate,—they cut off her head, fixed it on a pike, carried it about in ignominious triumph, and delivered her uncovered body to be dragged about the streets by savages, if possible more inhuman than themselves.

The same party then proceeded to the Temple, vowing that they would treat the Queen in the same manner, and have her head also, to carry it about the streets with that of the Princess de Lamballe. But commissioners from the National Assembly having been sent to the Temple, with great difficulty persuaded the mob to desist from their intentions, telling them, that the lives of their magistrates were responsible

sponsible for the safety of the royal family. The mob, however, insisted that they would not withdraw until the King and Queen had witnessed the spectacle they had brought to shew them. The commissioners undertook to inform the King and Queen of their wishes. Their Majesties presented themselves at one of the windows of their prison, and the horrid spectacle was displayed before them, while the mob loaded them with the most shocking execrations, and assured them, that, some day or other, the same would be their fate.

The Princess de Lamballe had remarkably long hair : while the wretches were decapitating her, they laid the hair aside, and afterwards dipped it in, and completely moistened it with her blood. To make the dismal spectacle more horrible, while carrying the head on a pike, they pulled the clotted hair over her face, and as it ceased to drop with her own blood, they

moistened it again, occasionally, with that of others.

It would be unnecessary to enumerate all the horrors committed on the 2d of September, and the three or four following days : the massacre continued with unabated fury, until the streets of Paris were covered with carcases and separated limbs. Nor did the females less distinguish themselves on this occasion, than on the 10th of August : it is a certain, though disgusting truth, that they absolutely chewed the flesh of the mangled victims ; and that it was a common practice to dip pieces of bread in human blood, and eat them with a ravenous delight.

On the morning of the 3d, a number of priests, having escaped the massacre on the former day, presented themselves at the barriers to obtain egress ; they were stopped, and a mob being soon collected, they were every one cut to pieces.

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The dead bodies remained so long in the streets, that the people, having become familiar with the sight, passed by or trod on them without any particular emotion.— A decent coat, a clean shirt, a pair of silver buckles, or a watch, were now considered as certain symptoms of aristocracy ; or rather, to unfold the truth, they were considered as sufficient objects of plunder, to justify the murder of those who wore them ; and the word “ aristocrat,” in the mouth of the mob, might now be truly defined into the following meaning,—*A man from whom we may get something by murdering him.*

I shall here close an account of horrors, infinitely too shocking to be dwelt upon, and conclude my undertaking with a few observations, which, I hope, will not be unacceptable to the reader,

The circumstances which I have endeavoured faithfully to describe, have, for the worst of purposes, been represented by

many to the inhabitants of this country, as the excusable consequences of the indignation of a great people, struggling for liberty, and surrounded by foreign enemies and domestic treachery. The authors of this perfidy have basely attempted to prey on the natural generosity of Britons, and their love of freedom, to induce them not only to forgive, but to become the advocates of barbarity. That the French have ever been in actual possession of liberty, even since the Revolution of 1789, I believe will not be very readily allowed by any reasonable man, for never since that period has one of the constituted authorities been free in the exercise of its lawful power. The Revolution was originally brought about, not by the united wishes of the French nation, but by the influence of a few ambitious men, who took advantage of the spirit of discontent that then prevailed, to excite an insurrection, which they had no intentions of directing to the general welfare of their country, but to their own interested and private views.

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The most notorious instigator of the rebellion and debaucher of the armies, the Duke d'Orleans, endeavoured to lay the whole blame of the distresses to which the nation had been gradually brought, and principally by the enormous expenses of Louis the Fourteenth, on Louis the Sixteenth, not that he might persuade the nation to abolish royalty, but to change their King. In this endeavour, he, however, failed. The watch-word of the people, instead of becoming *Vive d'Orleans!* as the Duke expected, soon became *Vive la Liberté!* and instead of yielding to the idea of changing their Monarch, they fought only to abridge his prerogatives.

The Constituent Assembly, having usurped a boundless power, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the people, not by actually laying down the ground-work of liberty, but by *telling* them they were free; not by establishing the *security*, but by publishing the *declaration* of rights, as if they imagined that every individual in the
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empire would, unrestrictedly, be honourable, because he was told that it was his duty to be so. A jealousy existed of the former power of the Monarch: the Constituent Assembly, instead of considering how much power it was necessary to allow the King, for the security of the liberty of the subject, thought only of how much they might take away from him, to please the momentary caprices of the people; and, consequently, left it at the will of a few ambitious men, to establish a tyrannical oligarchy. This was soon effected, and in a most extraordinary manner;—the oligarchy was not composed of men legally in authority, but of men totally unconnected with the Legislative Body, excepting by the influence they had obtained over it. Thus France was, for some time of her pretended liberty, actually governed by a set of men, on whom she had bestowed no authority whatever, until the oligarchy, on account of jealousies, which ever will exist in irregular governments, found it necessary to call to their assistance the fa-
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vour of the mob, on whom they rendered themselves totally dependent, to secure their superiority over the constituted authorities. The government now became a perfect mobocracy, or rather a confusion of intricate dependencies, over which the mob were supreme. The King was despotically governed by the National Assembly, the National Assembly by the leaders of the Jacobins, and the leaders of the Jacobins by the mob. This, however, could not last long; it was necessary that one authority should be annihilated;--the King, being the weakest, fell the victim to the struggling powers. There was no longer any established constitution,—the people were invited to depute representatives to form a National Convention; and every citizen of a certain age, indiscriminately, without regard to situation, fortune, or character, was allowed the right of voting. This, by the enthusiastic theorists of the moment, was considered as the surest means of procuring an equal representation: but the contrary was the consequence.

sequence. By this equalization of right, three-fourths, at least, of the French nation, were debarred from exercising their privileges; and the whole power of election was delivered, perhaps and probably designedly, into the hands of the mob, who having fixed upon the most notorious violators of the late constitution, and the abettors of their murderous proceedings, as their favourites, every quiet and respectable citizen found himself obliged either to withhold his vote, or sacrifice his principles and wishes to the fear of being insulted and assassinated. The National Convention, therefore, so far from being considered as composed of the representatives of the French nation, can only be regarded as a concentration of the sycophants of folly, anarchy and ignorance.—I am persuaded, that every honest man in France would consider a seat in the National Convention, as a situation very far from honourable. Independent of the unprincipled qualifications which must have rendered him a favourite with his electors,

tors, each member of the Convention must be conscious that he holds his present situation only on the caprice of an ungovernable rabble, who, in the distribution of their favours, neither regarded knowledge, integrity, nor political merit,—reflecting only on the part he had taken in the late events, instead of considering the important work he was about to be called upon to perform. In this grand election, no restriction was made respecting the characters or property of the future representatives,—every one was indiscriminately eligible. The consequence is, that in the National Convention there is scarcely a member (excepting the Parisian ringleaders of the late rebellion), whose fame is not confined to the narrow circle of domestic broils. The newly broached doctrine of the rights of man forms the *ne plus ultra* of their political accomplishments, and the heterogeneous union of liberty and equality, the basis of their future experimental vagaries. With such materials are they to form a combining system,

system, to unite, in the bonds of amity and useful society, an extensive nation.

In the Constituent Assembly there were men of enlightened genius, of honour, and of talents; but building upon false foundations, their dazzling superstructure soon became a heap of ruins:—the French have since refined on inefficiency; they have discarded material weakness, to build on immaterial idea. What the consequence of their present labours will be, is hardly to be doubted, should they accomplish their intentions, which, however, is far from probable. If they be not interrupted in their designs by foreign powers, or civil discord, (one of which, notwithstanding their late successes, seems still and totally inevitable) they will form a rope of sand to bind down rebellious spirits; they will erect the shadow of liberty, and bury the substance in ignorance and superstition; and, while endeavouring to raise a democratic or republican system of government, will lay the ground-work of a future

ture and despotic monarchy ; and this, supposing their intentions pure, and their failure of success imputable only to their obstinacy and inexperience. But when we view the Convention in another light, and consider the characters of the leading members, and the steps they have taken to procure advancement, we may safely conclude, that its present state of existence will not be of long duration : those men who have acquired sufficient power and popularity to overturn one constitution, will seldom be contented with secondary situations under another ; and when several are similarly inclined, mutual jealousies, hatred and discord must take place of every consideration for the public good. The general tenor of the former conduct of the principal members of the Convention, proves, that in their endeavours to obtain power, they consulted more their own interests than that of their country : there is scarcely one who is not ambitious of obtaining a higher situation than that which he already holds, though deemed the

the highest in the nation. The Convention must, therefore, soon be divided into contending factions ; and should the popularity of the opposite parties be nearly equal, a civil war must be the consequence ;—should their popularity be unequal, one of them must yield, and leave a wide field open to the ambition of the victorious party. The prevailing spirit of the governors of France is not the love of their country, but the love of themselves : an union of principle, therefore, is impracticable ; and experience has sufficiently shewn, that, without this union, no democratic system can exist for any length of time. The republic of Corinth was overthrown by the ambition of Dicoeus and his factious party : the Athenian and Roman commonwealths owed their destruction to the convulsions occasioned by contending factions ; and the French republic will, perhaps, very shortly add another proof of the fatal consequences of civil dissensions : the swords of the murderers are not yet sheathed, and other massacres

facres are preparing to deluge again, in human blood, the streets of that devoted city.

The reign of Louis the Sixteenth, previous to the Revolution, was composed of a series of indulgencies to his subjects, and an extenuation of his own prerogatives.— Since his acceptance of the constitution, his constant endeavours have been exerted to maintain it, and to procure, as far as was in his power, the true liberties of his people. The populace, however, were taught, by designing and ambitious men, to believe that he was endeavouring to invade them. They had no true idea of liberty,—they knew not what it was ; and, consequently, were equally incapable of judging when, or by whom it was invaded : its absence and presence were alike imperceptible. While Louis was yet on the throne, the people were told that their liberty was endangered, because the King had some control over the Legislative Body: they believed the story, and suspended the
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King. When the King was suspended, the people were told that they were free : they again, with equal credulity, believed the flattering lie, although the executive power had been transferred to persons, whose proceedings it was made death to interrupt; and although the commissaries of the sections had formed themselves into an independent and despotic tribunal, usurping a power, and executing it over the liberties, lives and properties of their fellow citizens. The French have still the word liberty in their mouths, although the whole combined authority of France dares not attempt to dissolve this self-erected and self-made-permanent and despotic tribunal, existing in the metropolis of the empire,—influencing the deliberations of the Convention,—and disorganizing the principles of its existence.

It is evident, therefore, that the French have no true idea of liberty, since they may be made slaves while thinking they are free. They see their fellow citizens arrested,

rested, imprisoned and murdered at the will of an arbitrary and usurped power, and consider such transactions as no invasion of public liberty, because they affect not immediately themselves. Liberty, to exist at all, must be universally existent: the unlawful arrestation and imprisonment of a single individual, if suffered with impunity, destroy at once the liberty of the whole community.

Yet is this deceived and unjust nation invading foreign and neutral territories, and endeavouring to excite insurrections in every country in Europe, under the fictitious pretence of instructing the inhabitants in what they themselves do not understand, and of giving to others what they themselves do not possess. They attempt to justify their own rebellion, by asserting the rights of nations to choose and adopt the system of government most congenial to their feelings; and, at the same time, are invading foreign territories, to force the inhabitants of them to adopt their own

misshapen chaos of confused and undefined excrescencies of factions. But the intentions of the French may be better understood from their character than their professions;—their system is deception,—their honour is intrigue,—their reason force,—and their rule of conduct the result of varying chances.

No good and solid government can be established without a total dereliction of party principles. When new systems are about to be formed, after internal convulsions, it generally happens, that they who have the power of forming them, are indebted for their elevation to the success of a party, whom they find themselves obliged to favour, to the prejudice of the community in general. This is one, and a principal reason why revolutions in governments are frequently attended with such intestine convulsions and other evils, as obstruct the possibility of advantage to the reforming generation, and require the delaying lapse of centuries to remedy. It
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is very seldom, indeed, that Révolutions are immediately beneficial. Though impartial tyranny may be subverted by them, partial tyranny, by far the more dangerous of the two, will necessarily follow, and lay the foundation of new insurrections. They must be supported by exorbitant expenses, notwithstanding which, it is impossible that all the prevailing party should be equally rewarded;—hence new jealousies and discontents urging the dissatisfied to revenge. Every one knows what dreadful conflicts,—what effusions of blood took place, before our excellent constitution was finally established on its present basis; how much was to be destroyed,—how much was to be obtained after its first institution, before it could settle into a rigid impartiality—into an indiscriminate protection of liberties and rights. Such, however, it at length became, and such it still remains; and yet, in the midst of unparalleled advantages,—in the midst of the enjoyment of blessings, for which other nations are struggling in vain,—some are to be found dissatisfied.—

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Ingratitude cannot be natural to mankind ; ignorance cannot be their excuse ; for the superior blessings of Englishmen are too remarkable to be overlooked. We must dive, therefore, into the recesses of distracted passions, to find a cause why men should revolt from a government which protected them before they could ask for protection, and which still continues to preserve to them every thing they hold dear, even at the moment that they are exclaiming the most against it,—which affords them that very liberty, by the abuse of which, they prove its almost too great indulgence,—and of the tenderness of which, their own conduct and impunity afford the most striking testimony.

Man is born a debtor, not only to his God, but to the government of that society to which he is introduced. In his earliest and most defenceless infancy, the laws watch over and protect him with the same tenderness and vigilance, as they watch over and protect those in a more advanced state

state of existence. Even in the womb he claims and shares the guardianship of paternal laws. The incapability of complaining,—the weakness of his youth,—his ignorance how to procure redress for injuries, are amply compensated for, by laws that speak for him, that defend him, and have force to punish. His mind is not suffered to wander in the labyrinth of confused ideas, respecting the nature of his duties or his being,—but is guided under the eye of government to the most simple and pure religion, and assisted by pastors, whose care he commands before he knows how to thank them. When, having been thus protected and instructed, he arrives at manhood, is there no tie of duty,—no bond of obligation,—no debt of gratitude contracted? Can he cast the eye of reflection over his former situation,—consider what he is, and what he might have been, but for the protection of the laws,—and think himself absolved from every claim of supporting that government which supported *him* when most defenceless? Can he see that,

that, during his minority, his property, his lawful inheritance, has been preserved to him, and accept it without one retrospective glance of gratitude to that power which preserved it from the grasp of avarice, or superior force? Can any honourable and well principled man refuse to acknowledge an obligation so necessarily contracted? Surely no. And what is the demand, in return for these numerous benefits?—Allegiance. A debt how easily and honourably paid!

But it is useless to exclaim against those who endeavour to disturb our public tranquillity, unless we can invalidate the arguments on which they build their presumption. This appears no difficult attempt. It has been the misfortune of a neighbouring nation to have been too much under the influence of theorists: all the world know what men *ought to be*; but the basis of governments should be founded on what men *are*; and such was the happy and solid

lid foundation of our own constitution. Before any man ought to think of reforming any part of our government, he should be well assured that the persons to be governed are reformed: before he ought to attempt to make the government perfect, he should be well assured of the perfections of its subjects, lest increased deficiencies should be the consequence of intended amendments. A more equal representation in Parliament, is one of the cries of our theoretic reformers. That the inhabitants of England *ought* to be equally represented, is a very conciliating doctrine, and one that would, if reducible to practice, be approved of by every honest man; but, to any one taking a collective view of humanity in its actual state of existence, an equal representation will be found impracticable. Give to every one indiscriminately the liberty of voting for a member of Parliament, and what would be the consequence? The whole power of election would fall into the hands of the lowest order of the community, and our House

of Commons would resemble (which God forbid should ever be the case) the National Convention of France.

Another plea for the turbulence of pretended reformers, is derived from the pensions and sinecures granted by government to men apparently undeserving, and from the many posts of emolument and profit, apparently of little importance : these they would have annihilated. With respect to the former,—it is well known to all but the most ignorant, that every political government requires secret, concealed, and dangerous services, which no one would willingly undertake, but from the prospect of permanent advantage. Who is there that will pretend to say, that the persons enjoying these pensions and sinecures have not rendered their country essential and lasting services, although the particular instances may be known only to the King, or minister who granted the reward ? The whole nation, perhaps, may be indebted to them for a great part of its success in
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foreign wars, or for the present tranquillity it enjoys : and would a generous nation wish such services unrewarded ?

With respect to the posts of emolument and profit, apparently of no importance, at the disposal of the minister,—it may be observed, that they would be useless taxes on the nation, if a minister could at all times rely on the virtue and wisdom of representatives for support : but it is a certain, although a lamentable truth, that interest is too generally prevalent over principle. Men in public, as well as private situations, will seldom be induced to act even according to their principles, unless it be made their interest to do so ; while many will make a temporary sacrifice of their own inclinations, that the future exercise of them may be made more profitable. This is one of the weaknesses of humanity, to which the best of governments must bend. When a power be discovered that can make a whole nation individually perfect, an attempt to make its govern-

government so may then be practicable: but 'till then, Britons may pride and content themselves with the idea, that their own constitution comprehends every possible blessing; and that its defects are imputable only to the impossibility of perfection.

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